DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 371 925 RC 019 681

AUTHOR Costarelli, Sandro, Ed.
TITLE Children of Minorities: Gypsies. Innocenti Insights.
INSTITUTION United Nations Children's Fund, Florence (Italy). International Child Development Centre.
REPORT NO ISBN-88-85401-11-2
PUB DATE 93
NOTE 79p.; Photographs may not reproduce clearly.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Access to Education; Child Health; Cultural Differences; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Migrant Children; Migrant Education; Migrant Housing; *Migrant Problems; Migrants; *Minority Groups; *Social Discrimination
IDENTIFIERS *Europe; *Gypsies

ABSTRACT

The case of the Gypsies provides a clear example of a minority group suffering especially severe discrimination. In the majority of European countries, access to basic services is extremely limited for Gypsies, with serious results for the health and education of Gypsy children. This publication originated in a 2-day UNICEF workshop, "Growing Up as a Gypsy," held in Florence, Italy, in October 1992. "The Making of Minorities" (Enzo Pace) discusses societal and group factors that create a minority group, minority group survival strategies, and the particularly vulnerable situation of minority group children. "Growing Up As a Gypsy: Insights from the October 1992 UNICEF ICDC Workshop" (Sinead ni Shuinear) provides an overview of Gypsy child rearing and family life, access to health care, educational attitudes and attainment, housing practices and problems, and the role of the Gypsy child in family economics and employment. Recommendations include development of an information base and proposals for action in the areas of legal issues, accommodation, services, and social mobilization. "Gypsy Children in Europe: An Overview" (Sandro Costarelli) presents facts and figures about Gypsy children, covering legal status, demography, infant mortality, child morbidity, housing, child institutionalization, school attendance and completion, juvenile crime, and adult unemployment. "Gypsy Life in Four European Countries" (Sandro Costarelli) presents a comparative analysis based on case studies in former Czechoslovakia, former Yugoslavia, France, and Italy. "Innovation and Change in Gypsy Communities" (Alain Reyniers) examines cultural adaptation, settlement, and political action by Gypsy communities. The document also contains an article "They Can See the Future and It Hurts" (Patricia Clough) which appeared in "The Independent", Oct. 26, 1991. Contains a list of workshop participants and many photographs. (SV)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

RC

ED 371 925

INNOCENTI INSIGHTS

CHILDREN of MINORITIES

Gypsies

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. R. Himes

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

unicef
United Nations Children's Fund

International Child Development Centre
Florence - Italy

RC019681

INNOCENTI INSIGHTS

CHILDREN *of* MINORITIES
Gypsies

Edited by
SANDRO COSTARELLI

unicef
United Nations Children's Fund

International Child Development Centre
Florence - Italy

Acknowledgements

The editor wishes to acknowledge the following people from the UNICEF International Child Development Centre for their assistance: Jim Himes for his constant encouragement; Paolo Basurto for his committed involvement, advice and overall management of the project; Patricia Light for her extensive and constructive comments on the text; and Mickey Cibardo for her valuable secretarial assistance. Many other individuals and organizations generously contributed their time, skills and support to make this publication possible: Claire Auzias, Massimo Converso, Damiano and Laura Foà, Professor Ian Hancock, Professor Jean-Pierre Liégeois, Secondo Massano, Bianca Mori La Penna, Eveline Pommerat, Carla Osella, Professor Leonardo Piasere, Francois Rémy, Italo Siena, Asociacion Nacional Presencia Gitana, Associazione per la Difesa dei Diritti delle Minoranze, Associazione Italiana Zingari Oggi, Bernard Van Leer Foundation, Caritas Italia, Centre de Recherches Tsiganes, Czech Committee for UNICEF, *Etudes Tsiganes*, French National Committee for UNICEF, International Romani Union, Opera Nomadi, Save the Children Fund, UK, Slovak Committee for UNICEF.

Chief Editor: Sandro Costarelli
Editor: Anny Bremner

Designed by: Bernard Chazine, Siena

Extracts from this publication may be freely reproduced provided that due acknowledgement is given to the source and to UNICEF. The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the policies or views of UNICEF.

© UNICEF 1993
ISBN 88-85401-11-2

UNICEF International Child Development Centre
Piazza S.S. Annunziata 12 - 50122 Florence, Italy

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
Susi Kessler 5

THE MAKING OF MINORITIES
Enzo Pace 7

GROWING UP AS A GYPSY: Insights from the October 1992 UNICEF ICDC Workshop
Sinéad ní Shuinéar 17

GYPSY CHILDREN IN EUROPE: An Overview
Sandro Costarelli 35

GYPSY LIFE IN FOUR EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
Sandro Costarelli 53

INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN GYPSY COMMUNITIES
Alain Reyniers 65

APPENDIX 1: List of the Workshop Participants 75

INTRODUCTION

Minority groups - whether their status be based upon ethnic, racial, linguistic, national or religious differences - face severe, sometimes, life-threatening problems in almost every part of the world. The rise in migration, both internally and externally, has intensified the phenomenon, with increasingly negative effects on the quality of life of minority group members. All too frequently the basic rights of minority cultures are violated, and those who suffer the most, as always, are the children.

Discrimination against minority groups gives rise to a concentration of problems typical of socially marginalized groups: poverty, low school attendance rates, markedly higher than average levels of infant mortality and morbidity, high rates of juvenile delinquency, as well as frequent situations of exploitation and abuse among working children.

Furthermore, the problems of minority groups are witnessed both in poor and rich countries. To cite some examples: the Gypsies in Europe, the Turks in Germany, Kurds in Turkey, Arabs in France, Mayas in Guatemala, the Aguarunas in Amazonia and the Eritreans in Ethiopia. To be sure, a large share of the world's population is made up of minorities, and most of these social groups suffer extreme situations of discrimination and deprivation, suggesting that initiatives to improve their conditions need to be taken in the economic, social and cultural fields. While appropriate solutions are urgently needed, they are by no means easy to find.

But, without such measures, there is a strong risk that the rising phenomena of ethnic conflict, xenophobia, racism and religious intolerance will be fuelled, with alarming and dangerous consequences for the protection of the rights of the weaker groups of society. The fact that the problems of minority groups do not appear to stem exclusively from a lack of material resources enhances the challenge to push for further analysis in order to bring about change in public attitudes and values as well as political will.

The case of the Gypsies[1] provides an articulate example of a minority group suffering especially severe discrimination. In the majority of European countries, both in the East and West, access to basic services is extremely limited for Gypsies. The consequences can be devastating: in some cities of Italy and France, for example, infant mortality among Gypsies is double the national average, while in some regions of Romania and former Yugoslavia barely 40 per cent of Gypsy children receive full vaccination.

Given the magnitude of the economic problems facing central and eastern Europe, and to

1 The term 'Gypsy' is used generically throughout the text to refer to all nomadic, semi-sedentary and sedentary population groups of Indian origin as well as those of non-Indian origins, such as Travellers, who identify themselves as such using various local names. This working definition has been taken from Acton, T., *Gypsy Politics and Social Change*, London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan, 1974, and is used for stylistic convenience and readability.

help deal with the particular needs of children, the 1990 UNICEF Executive Board approved a special three-year effort of "transitional support"[2]. Amongst other measures, UNICEF was authorized to support "data collection on the situation of children and women, analytical studies, technical workshops, information materials and other related activities". Recommendations were also made as a result of the 1991 UNICEF missions, in which I was involved, to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to support activities for sharing experience in the areas of minorities and the implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In particular, the Report from these missions recommended that "An international conference or seminar be convened, focusing particularly on issues related to Gypsy children and youth, to which would be invited various specialists and representatives of interested agencies. Such a seminar could look at and develop ideas on how to reach agreements on international cooperation; identification of successful approaches to ameliorate the problem; needs and resources available for the provision of technical assistance, including for the evaluation of pilot efforts; appropriate channels for the sharing of information and documentation among different projects relating to Gypsy minorities throughout the world; and opportunities for mobilizing political and financial support."[3]

It was within this context that the UNICEF International Child Development Centre in Florence organized a two-day Workshop in October 1992 on "Growing Up as a Gypsy", and which has resulted in the present publication. It examines some of the aforementioned issues and particularly how they apply to the situation of Gypsy children in Europe.

Chapter 1 gives an overall perspective on what makes a minority, examining the factors which fuel the development and perpetuation of discriminatory practices against social groups. Chapter 2 provides valuable insights into the major issues of concern expressed at the October Workshop and summarizes the main conclusions and recommendations for effective ways forward.

Through a review of current literature on Gypsies, Chapter 3 makes an innovative analysis of the social conditions of European Gypsy children and their families, highlighting approaches used to date to address their needs. Based on four European country case-studies commissioned by UNICEF ICDC, Chapter 4 discusses the living conditions of Gypsy communities and their children, which point to the persistence of severe discriminatory practices. Finally, Chapter 5 addresses the issue of cultural 'change' within a Gypsy context, reviewing examples in of change and adaptation in Gypsy communities in western as well as central and eastern European countries.

In many ways, the Gypsies are emblematic of minorities. Their way of life is their distinguishing characteristic. It is also the grounds for discrimination against them. Yet Article 2 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is particularly clear on the question of non-discrimination, stating that each child's rights shall be respected and ensured "without discrimination of any kind". This is a non-negotiable and universal right for all children.

However, the information presented in this publication makes it clear that the world's 7-8 million Gypsy children are still a long way from enjoying their full rights as children and as members of a minority group. Their needs, as those of children of all minority groups, must be answered. We thus face a clear challenge: to facilitate better understanding of the issues that pose obstacles to Gypsy children and to mobilize action for their well-being. As Sinéad ní Shuinéar points out in her paper, the Gypsies present a microcosm of the challenge of intercultural coexistence. What we learn in the process of interacting with Gypsies can also help in our relations with other minorities. This study offers an important contribution to that end.

Susi Kessler M.D.
Senior Advisor
Central and Eastern Europe Section
Programme Division
UNICEF, New York

2 UNICEF, 1990 Executive Board, "Children in Eastern Europe: An Information Note", 30 March 1990 (E/ICEF/1990/CRP.4)
3 "In Transition: Mission Reports, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, August and December 1991". Central and Eastern Europe Unit Programme Division, UNICEF.

THE MAKING OF MINORITIES

ENZO PACE

Introduction

"My story is not something I learnt from a book, nor even something I learnt on my own...My life story is the story of my people."

Rigoberta Menchú

Recounting her childhood, Rigoberta Menchú tells the story of the *Quiché*, the Guatemalan ethnic group she belongs to. She also tells the story of what it means to grow up in and be part of an ethnic minority group. As she remembers and writes, two significant aspects of minorities as a condition emerge: Rigoberta is aware of the segregation which divides her community from the more powerful Spanish group, the *Ladinos*; and her identification with the community, developed early and absolutely, is the result of the transmission of values (language, family model, agricultural techniques, and so on) from generation to generation. In looking into her own past, this 23 year-old woman reveals the harshness of marginalization discovered at an early age in a society in which the Indios have been, and remain, systematically segregated.

This example points to three areas vital to the discussion of and understanding of minority groups in today's world:

- the importance of social and cultural identity in defining the concept of minority;
- the relationship between the minority group and the dominant culture;
- the special position of children within a minority.

Defining Ethnic Minority

A 'minority' is a social group marked by certain significant differences from the dominant social system. In other words, a minority is a subordinate segment of a global society shaped by its state structures.

Firstly, a social group may be considered a minority when its subordination becomes grounds for stigmatization by a powerful social and political group, emphasizing the physical or cultural differences so that social labelling becomes based on negative stereotypes ('the Blacks smell'...'the Jews are misers'...'the Gypsies are thieves'). This mechanism reinforces the process of discrimination experienced on many levels within the majority society: denial of civil rights; segregation of children in the education system; discrimination in employment; high morbidity levels; marginalization and consequent exposure to social deviance.

Secondly, a social group made up of immigrants forced to move from their native country to another for economic or political reasons may be treated as a minority. In this case, they are considered by the dominant group as 'guest workers' (*Gastarbeiter* in German), i.e., foreign workers living temporarily in the 'host' country. These immigrants are

generally cut off from the predominant social group, living in the poorest, ghetto-like areas; communicating only minimally in the new language; forming a large section of the new urban industrial labour force concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled employment; sending their children to segregated or less-qualified schools; and often accepting the rules of the 'black market' (low salaries, no welfare system, dirty and dangerous jobs).

In both of these cases, the minority group occupies a subordinate position in the society in terms of the power structure, social stratification and the cultural system. Therefore, a social group becomes a minority **only** when another group is able to impose **its point of view and will** (political, economic, religious, linguistic) on the former. From the dominant group's perspective, a minority is a social group which has not been able to integrate itself into the prevailing socio-cultural model.

It is important to note that the size of a social group is irrelevant in the definition of a minority. A majority may form a minority culture, as is the case for the black people of South Africa who make up 70 per cent of the country's population. There are many peoples around the world who form national minorities despite their large numbers.

The most significant element in defining the concept of minority is the relationship between a social group and the structure and distribution of power within the society. 'Power' in this context refers to the power to define the boundaries of values shared by individuals with a common heritage living in the same territory. Those people or groups who do not accept these boundaries consequently become a minority. The refusal of a group to be incorporated into the dominant value system can have many negative repercussions for them: loss of territory, segregation into the lowest social strata, and repression of various possibilities of expression (religion, language, specific family customs, rites of passage, and so on). It means a sharp attack on the identity of the group, resulting in social subordination and marginalization.

Historically speaking, the creation of a nation-state is not only a process of conquest of a territory, culminating in the construction of a new political structure (State). It is also a process of cultural unification through a common official language, a national religion and a political ideology. The resulting integration or separation of a minority, depending on the specific social, political and historical conditions, is perceived within the collective consciousness of the minority group as a resistance to foreign rule.

Identity, Space and Time

The discussion so far has given an indication of the structural elements defining a minority. The concept of power is important, but not sufficient in defining a 'minority'. A social group becomes a minority when its collective identity is backed by strong genealogical or spatial relationships. Time and space are generally the main symbolic resources used by minorities around the world in the development of their group identity and in their fight for survival.

Time or genealogical relationship: people form a social unity based on 'belonging together'. The primary genealogical relationship is the family or other kinds of kinship groups (lineage, clan, tribes, and so on). When these natural relations interweave with shared cultural aspects (religion, language, social organization), the people build up a common history, a real source of collective memory and identity. In this way, memory plus identity determine the group solidarity of a minority.

Space or spatial relationship: people are commonly defined as forming a social unit because they live in one place and collectively make their living there. This does not exclude nomadic people, who also have a territory on which they move about in search of pasture, water, cattle markets, and so on. They know their territory, and it represents for them a natural and cultural environment. The concept of territory runs deeper than physical environment to include the notion of human and sacred presence. It is therefore possible to extend the concept of spatial relationship to peoples such as the Jewish people

(before the creation of the state of Israel) or the many Gypsy communities who have no territory of their own.

For many contemporary minorities, the sacred dimension of their attachment to their territory encompasses time, space and identity. The struggle of the Australian Aborigines against the loss of land considered sacred within their culture provides a potent example. Their active fight against large multinational mining interests and other uses of land which for them is the home of their mythical ancestors of the Dreamtime has become a strong movement aiming at state recognition of their land rights. This group struggle implies a sense of belonging together by virtue of common descent. In this case, the reservoir of symbols, languages and customs are symbolized by 'land rights' because of its relevance to their collective memory.

Language and Religion

Is a social group which speaks a different language to the official one or which prays to a God which is not that of the dominant religion necessarily a minority? Generally speaking, when an ethnic conflict occurs, it involves either linguistic or religious difference.

The Armenians share a similar history to the Jewish people, including persecution, attempted genocide and dispersion. The population of this ethnic group currently reaches approximately 6 million, with the majority in the USA and Europe and a smaller proportion concentrated in the former Soviet Republics of Armenia, Azerbaidjan and Georgia. The current conflict with the Azerbaidjanis sees the Christian Armenians fighting the Muslim Azerbaidjanis (75 per cent Shi'ites). The Christian heritage of the Armenians has worked as a reservoir of cultural symbols creating national identity. In this case, religion supports the cyclical resurgence of nationalist ideology, and in so doing it represents the 'language' of collective memory which together with the Armenian language creates a strong cultural identity.

The situation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka provides a further example of the role language and religion can play in ethnic conflict. This island has 15,600,000 inhabitants: 72 per cent are Singhalese, the majority of whom are Buddhists, and 21 per cent are Tamils, practising Hindus or Muslims. The conflict between the Tamil minority and the Government began in 1977 and is still going on, with an increase in tension felt recently. The decision by the leaders of the Singhalese people to make their language (Sinhala) the official and only state language is one of the major root causes of the troubles. The combination of religion and language in this case worked as a process of national self-identification for the Singhalese people. Indeed, in order to reinforce the link between religion and language, the Singhalese leaders revived the old and sacred myth of Sri Lanka as the chosen land of Buddhism. In this mythical reconstruction of the past, the Tamils therefore played the role of wicked, barbaric and foreign people.

While the influence of religion and language in the consciousness of a minority is relatively marginal in relation to the more crucial elements already described, these two factors can function as instruments of defence for a social group fighting against dominant social and political forces which may jeopardize its identity and therefore its survival as a group.

Nation and Minority

The concept of 'nation' developed last century in Europe. Historically, the 'nation' is a political unity created through a process of unification of a territory, facilitated by the existence of a common or dominant cultural system (language, cultural values, religion, political and economic interests, and so on). It is an abstract notion, of course. In practice, in contemporary history, nations were constructed according to the historical background of the various peoples. At the end of European colonialism in North Africa, for instance, many Arab countries tried to establish independent states on the basis of the European ideological approach to the 'nation'. Decolonization, in abstract terms, implied preparing the population of a colony

for self-determination. In exploited colonies, sectionalized along racial lines, decolonization specifically concerned the people native to the country.

The construction of a national identity has usually been the result of domination by a 'majority' over groups or communities which didn't accept the official language, uni-

A mother and child take part in a UNICEF-supported nutrition survey at a clinic in the Kurdish village of Daratu, in Arbil governorate.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

fied belief system, the new legal system, and, finally, the process of assimilation with this dominant value system. A social group which maintains specific and different features in relation to the culture of the majority becomes a minority in the nation-state: it becomes a peripheral community forced to choose assimilation or seek other strategies to defend its identity.

Therefore, a minority group can be:

- a nation which has lost an earlier territorial settlement;
- an ethnic group with a more or less independent past which has been taken over by a stronger state;
- an ethnic group which, after gaining independence from a state, later becomes assimilated into another;
- an ethnic community which never integrated into a state.

The situation of the Kurds represents the most significant example of a people which became a minority culture through the loss of a territorial settlement. The Kurds are an ancient people, probably dating back to the nomadic tribes of the sixth century B.C. Their 'country', Kurdistan, was the kingdom of this ethnic group up to the formation of the Iranian Empire and, later, of the Ottoman Empire. After the collapse of this latter in 1920, the Kurds claimed the creation of an independent Kurdistan. Instead, with the Sèvres Agreement of 1920, and the Lausanne Peace Conference of 1923, the Kurdish people were dispersed among various States. Table 1 sums up the effects, in numerical terms, of this dispersion.

▶ KURDISH POPULATIONS IN SIX STATES IN 1983

STATE	*TOTAL POPULATION*	*KURDISH POPULATION*	*% K/TP*
Turkey	45 000 000	9 000 000	20
Iraq	14 000 000	3 500 000	25
Iran	41 000 000	4 000 000	10
Syria	9 600 000	800 000	8
Lebanon	2 600 000	60 000	2
ex-USSR	272 000 000	270 000	1

Sources: Caratini, 1986 (figures rounded).

The Kurdish language has been prohibited in Turkey since 1924 when, under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, the drive to build national unity in the new Turkey began. This act of repression set a long, unending story of persecution in motion and, at the same time, provoked the beginning of organized resistance on the part of the Kurds. Each military action staged by the Kurds was met with tough repression by the Ankara Government. The situation for the Kurds has severely worsened in Iran since the Khomeini-led Fundamentalist revolution as well as in Iraq, where the recent Gulf War set the Kurds' hopes on obtaining autonomy in the province of Mossul. The plight of these people, both during and after the Gulf War, blatantly points to the tragedy of ethnic conflict.

Internal and External Factors

Minority is a relational concept, involving the social group and the societal environment in which the group lives. Relations can change as a result of both internal and external factors. With regard to the former, the process of national unification of a state can provoke a parallel process of discrimination against those groups that refuse to accept the cultural, religious or political homogenization imposed by the nation-state. It should be stressed that this process of nationalization need not affect all ethnic components of a state population. Some could accept being 'nationalized', i.e., being absorbed into the national core without provoking specific social problems.

The major external factors affecting a social group's relations with the dominant society are changes in political boundaries and migration. The inclusion of an ethnic group in a new state may be perceived as a danger to national unity or an expression of a threatening 'foreign' culture. Migration implies a transfer of people from a familiar environment to another, with the consequent realization that the new environment imposes new social rules, and the need to make an effort to adapt to them.

As 'minority' is a relational concept, the conditions of a minority group depend on the level of 'interethnic capital' a society has accumulated, i.e., the length and depth of experience of coexistence between different ethnic groups on the same national territory. The greater the experience accumulated, the better are the possibilities for coping with problems and conflicts in the relations between minority groups and the global society. Therefore, the more limited is a society's experience, the higher the probability of repression and discrimination against minorities. How then does a minority react when it perceives its position as one of inferiority?

Strategies of Survival

Generally speaking, and according to a number of important studies (Wirth, 1945; Park, 1952; Rex, 1988), a minority culture goes through a sort of 'life cycle':

First	Second	Third	
→	→	→	INTEGRATION
			ASSIMILATION
Contact	Conflict	Solutions	SEPARATION
			OPPOSITION

When contact between a minority group and the majority culture becomes conflictual, the minority generally seeks to employ one of these four survival strategies. Assimilation refers to the absorption of a minority group into the host or dominant society, with a consequent dissolution of the cultural features of the group. This process normally involves an increasingly equal distribution of the minority group members in the various social structures, including in employment, the education system, public positions, and widespread intermarriage.

Integration means that an ethnic group tries to maintain some or all of its cultural characteristics, while seeking to minimize the practical problems inherent in adapting to the dominant society. Integration is the result of collective negotiation, but the existence of only a very few living examples implies that it is more a model of multicultural and pluralistic society than a viable option. Some very small communities in the USA, such as the Mennonites, have managed to preserve their cultural features (Francis, 1976).

For many minority cultures, however, surviving means resisting discrimination, segregation, forced assimilation, or even genocide. Groups commonly react by making claims for greater autonomy or complete independence, or by organizing collective political action against the dominant society.

Children of Minorities

There is a special minority within each minority culture: children. In the dominant society, the children of a minority must endure along with their parents the problems of social and cultural discrimination, and they are even more exposed to the risk of cultural dissolution. A comprehensive study has not yet been undertaken on the situation of children of minority cultures. Only fragmented data is available on minorities, and as a rule these do not give specific information on children.

Studying the impact of migration on the various ethnic minority groups, particularly in Europe and the USA, which try to reproduce in the host society some of the characteristics of their native culture, can help us to understand the special situation of children of minority groups. Children in such groups have to deal with the emotional conflict of reconciling two different cultures, with consequent feelings of insecurity and anxiety. Some children manage to develop a strategy of adapting their own culture to the new one, while others remain torn between the two. This conflict often has negative effects on their cognitive and emotional development, social relations and educational achievement. Furthermore, as these groups invariably live in rundown environments, their children have to deal with the many problems generated by such poor material conditions, including unhealthy housing, few educational opportunities, and various forms of criminality such as the drug market and prostitution which may involve the children themselves.

One of the most significant difficulties for children of minority cultures is learning a new language different to their mother

tongue. As language is not only a system of signs, but also involves the transmission of values from generation to generation, linguistic success for minority group children often requires rejecting their origins and accepting the cultural perspective of the 'host' society.

The problems for the children of those ethnic minority groups forced to live in segregated and subordinated social dependence are even more complex and debilitating. In this case, children's conditions are not only compromised with regard to opportunities, but also on the crucial level of health and development, with significantly higher morbidity and mortality levels often found. Examples may be cited from all parts of the world.

The large majority of native American Indians still live in reservation camps in conditions far inferior to those required for healthy child development. According to the **World Directory of Minorities** (Minority Rights Group, 1990):

> In 1985 half of the Indian workforce had no work while in some areas unemployment was as high as 75%. There are housing shortages on the reservations and 55% of homes are sub-standard. The Indian population has a greater incidence of communicable diseases and fatal infectious illnesses... Many Indian people are depressed, lacking in initiative, self assurance and not able to live successfully in their own culture or the white culture.

The effects of such poor living conditions are inevitably suffered by children, impeding their development and opportunities. The Government introduced the Indian Education Act (1970) in response, in particular, to the high levels of school abandonment among Indian children, but the rates still stand between 45 and 62 per cent.

The situation of the Indios in Guatemala is sadly telling. Campaigns of repression against the Indios villages have taken a heavy toll, including for children: by 1984, 440 villages in the departments of Quiche, Huehuetenango, San Marcos, Chimaltenango, Verapaz and Solola had been destroyed. And, according to a report by the Juvenile Division of the Supreme Court of Guatemala between 100,000 and 200,000 children had lost at least one parent in the violence (Minority Rights Group, 1991).

Since 1987, when a second campaign of repression was instituted against the Indios movements, many more villages have been destroyed, families have been deprived of their land and deported to the so-called model villages, young children have been killed or injured and others have lost their parents. The ethnic Indios minorities remain right at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Guatemala, with average life expectancy 16 years lower than for the Ladinos, a dominant Spanish group; infant mortality rates as high as 134 per 1,000 compared to a national average of 80 per 1,000; malnutrition affecting 82 per cent of under-five Indios children; literacy mastered by only 20 per cent of Indios compared to 50 per cent of Ladinos, implying that a large number of children do not attend school (Minority Rights Group, 1990).

In India, the so-called 'scheduled castes' (or 'untouchables') may be considered a minority even though they are made up of various sub-groups with different languages and ethnic traditions, the origins of which remain the subject of controversy. The caste system, declared sacred by an ancient Hindu text, relegated the scheduled castes to the very bottom of the social hierarchy. In the past, and until the reform introduced by Gandhi and the battle for recognition of their civil rights by the Ambedkar, they could do nothing to improve the conditions imposed on them by religious belief. Despite considerable efforts by the various governments since India's Independence, the scheduled castes remain grossly disadvantaged and underprivileged. Ninety per cent still live in poor rural areas, while the rest have migrated to cities. There they are inevitably forced to live in slums in terrible hygienic conditions, accepting the most degrading jobs and often suffering sexual harassment (especially young girls). In general, scheduled caste children still face

discrimination in education: in 1980 only 75 per cent of the six to 11 age group attended school compared with an overall 88 per cent. This difference increases for older children: only 26 per cent of the 11-16 age group attended school versus a national average of 42 per cent (Minority Rights Group, 1990). Children are very often obliged to work to contribute to the family economy; the smallest and least powerful workers, they are most vulnerable to exploitation and ill-treatment.

A report (E/CN.4/1992/55) presented to the 48th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the sale of children, the slave-like conditions endured by children in many parts of the world are documented: in the sweatshops of Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi in India, the use and abuse of children from the scheduled castes is common; in the Dominican Republic, many children from the Haitian minority are employed on the sugar farms; and in Colombia, about three million abandoned Indios children (the 'Gaminos') work in the underground mines, earning about 7 pesos per box of raw material. Child exploitation is not only restricted to the developing countries, as the report illustrates. In the USA, 150,000 Mexican children (under 10 years of age) work in the clandestine clothing workshops in the state of New York alone.

The story of the Kurds, as we have seen, is one of persecution and discrimination. Reports by Amnesty International and up-to-date information given by the Institut Kurde de Paris document appalling violations against Kurdish children.

In Iraq, about 100,000 children died in the north of the country in 1991 as a result of water and milk poisoned by the Iraqi regime (Institut Kurde de Paris, 1992b); large numbers of children died from epidemic diarrhoea and dehydration as a result of the dreadful hygienic conditions in the refugee camps where many Kurds sought shelter during and after the Gulf War (Institut Kurde de Paris, 1992a); in Suleyman, the most important town in the Kurd district of Iraq, the Gulf War and reprisals instituted by Saddam Hussein in reaction to the Kurds' claims for independence or greater autonomy resulted in the large-scale destruction of schools and a complete lack of provision for children handicapped or orphaned during the war (Institut Kurde de Paris, 1992c).

An Amnesty International 1992 newsletter report documents cases of Kurdish children being tortured at the hands of the Turkish police; the evacuation and destruction of many Kurd villages by the Turkish Army, including Sirnak (25,000 inhabitants), Cukurca (7,000), Kulp (6,000) and Hani (7,000), with a large part of the population, particularly women, children and elderly people pushed towards the refugee camps along the border between Turkey and Iran. Finally, as their own language is forbidden in the Turkish schools, many Kurdish children reject their mother tongue. This often leads to a rejection of their whole culture, as they are taught that the Kurds are dirty and primitive. When they go home to their villages, they assert that they are Turks and not Kurds.

The relationship between a 'minority' group and the 'majority' culture is largely based on the structure and distribution of power, and, as these examples illustrate, the most powerless are the children. On one level is the material and social deprivation they suffer, with all the repercussions of illness, abuse, exploitation and marginalization, as a result of their 'minority' status. On a second level is the cultural deprivation experienced by children through pressure exerted on them to accept and internalize the majority culture. Discrimination in education, particularly the use of the dominant language and denial of the minority's own culture and language, works as the most powerful tool to subordinate, or even eliminate, a minority group. For this reason, removing the stigma from 'minority', and working towards a society which accepts and gives value to cultural difference, has to begin with children: encouraging rather than denying the development of cultural identity.

References

CARATINI, R. (1984), *La Force des Faibles*. Paris: Larousse.

FRANCIS E.K. (1976), *Interethnic Relations*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

INSTITUT KURDE DE PARIS (1992a), *Bulletin*, no. 82, p. 38.

INSTITUT KURDE DE PARIS (1992b), *Bulletin*, no. 83-84, p. 119.

INSTITUT KURDE DE PARIS (1992c), *Bulletin*, no. 91-92, p. 74.

MENCHÚ, R., 1983, *Mi chiamo Rigoberta Menchú*, Florence: Giunti (author's translation).

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP (1990), *World Directory of Minorities*. Chicago: St. James Press.

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP (1991), *The Maya of Guatemala*. Minority Rights Group Report, no. 62.

PARK, R.E. (1952), *Collected Papers*. Glencoe: University of Illinois Press.

REX, J. (1988), *Race and Ethnicity*. London: Open University.

WIRTH, L. (1945), "The Problem of Minority Groups" in R. Linton (ed.), *The Science of the Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

"GROWING UP AS A GYPSY" Workshop

A two-day Workshop, organized by UNICEF International Child Development Centre with the active cooperation of the Bernard Van Leer Foundation, was held in Florence, Italy, in October 1992. The aim of the meeting was to discuss the many technical issues and practical implications relating to the development of a comprehensive strategy for analysis and action in support of Gypsy children and their families.

Several factors contributed to the success of the Workshop, and the background papers prepared for the meeting provided an excellent starting point for stimulating and productive discussion. Importantly, the Workshop was able to capitalize on the valuable insights generated from many years' experience in the design, management and evaluation of programmes targeting Gypsy children and families of participants from the Bernard Van Leer Foundation, Commission of the European Community (Task Force Human Resources, Education, Training, and Youth), Exchange for Community Development in Europe (ECDE), International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and Save the Children Fund, UK as well as the valuable contributions of other participants with expertise in applied anthropology, child psychology and programme development. The main areas of discussion included:

- the living conditions experienced by Gypsy children and their families in Europe, including issues relating to health, accommodation, socialization, education, vocational training, employment, child crime, the legal situation, inter-generational dynamics and social integration, as well as the 'push' and 'pull' factors determining those conditions;

- past and ongoing programmes targeting Gypsy children and their families in various fields, including health, education, accommodation, child-family networks, child-community support, and lessons to be learnt from those experiences;

- a proposal for future research, and the possibility for social mobilization initiatives.

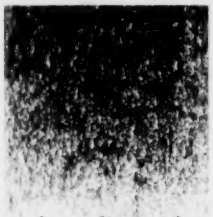
The initial impetus for a Workshop on Gypsies came as a response to the shared recognition of the need for a valid, reliable and culturally relevant framework which could be used to evaluate, plan and implement initiatives for and with Gypsy children and their families. While some research has been undertaken on an individual country level, the results and implications, with few exceptions, are generally not applicable in different national settings. There is therefore a strong need to develop a consistent and complete set of indicators to analyse the situation of Gypsy children and children of other minority groups within and across countries.

While it needs to be underlined that no minority group situation is fully comparable to any other, some problems are shared by different minorities. Indeed, a greater understanding of both the similarities and the differences in living conditions experienced by minority cultures would be of enormous value in the development of effective initiatives for change. This in itself provides further confirmation of the need for a comprehensive and cross-culturally applicable set of welfare indicators for children in difficult circumstances, particularly children of minorities. In this way, the relevance of the Growing up as a Gypsy Workshop goes far beyond the specific situation of Gypsy children to that of children of all minority groups.

The paper which follows by Sinéad ní Shuinéar covers many of the issues discussed at the Workshop and highlights the main conclusions drawn by the participants.

GROWING UP AS A GYPSY

INSIGHTS FROM THE OCTOBER 1992 UNICEF ICDC WORKSHOP



SINÉAD NÍ SHUINÉAR

The Issues

Overview

The world is currently in ferment, with contradictory trends creating widespread uncertainty and disquiet. On the one hand, there has been a vast cultural levelling: music, clothing, food and lifestyles are becoming more and more uniform, and this has been parallelled in the political sphere, with the major ideological divisions gone. On the other hand, there has been a resurgence of regionalism and ethnic conflict. Either trend, taken to extremes, may result in cultural impoverishment for all. There is an increasingly urgent need to find a middle way: a way to break down barriers and pool the resources of all without losing diversity in the process. In this context, the Gypsy issue is particularly relevant. Gypsies are the minority *par excellence*: a permanent minority, familiar for centuries in every European country, but also in the United States, Latin America, Asia and Australia. The Gypsies present a microcosm of the challenge of intercultural coexistence. What we learn in the process of interacting with Gypsies can also help in our relations with other minorities. This may also provide insights of use in other contexts in which a 'folk' minority confronts an 'urban' majority, such as in the developing countries where interethnic urban situations are becoming increasingly evident. Most importantly, the Gypsy experience can teach us that seemingly straightforward questions - such as health care, accommodation, school provision, vocational training - can become incredibly complicated in the context of interethnic dynamics. To ignore this fact is to condemn both cultural sides to an impasse of inappropriate responses, wasted resources and spiralling resentment.

A further valuable insight may be gained by looking into the 'Gypsy question': here is a people - or, rather, many peoples - who have been absorbing what they consider useful from alien cultures for centuries, while remaining uncompromisingly themselves. Isn't this precisely the balance to aspire towards in the 'new world' of intercultural coexistence? In this context, the Gypsies may really have something to teach us.

The Gypsy Child

Few topics are so emotive as child-rearing, and small wonder: it is the means by which we perpetuate our way of life, shape our own future, pass on our dreams. Over the past century, scores of scientific studies have been undertaken on the processes which transform infants into well-adjusted and responsible adults. But even a cursory review of the literature reveals that there is absolutely no practice which has not, in some period, been promoted as indispensable and, in another, condemned as irreparably harmful (Hardiment, 1983). Even a seemingly

straightforward question like breastfeeding has long been a focus of heated controversy.

There has, however, been a generally unanimous condemnation of Gypsy child-rearing practices. Glimpsed in the most superficial and fragmented ways, the common perception of Gypsy children sees them either 'running wild' in groups or sitting alone for hours pleading for money from passers-by. There is no apparent sign of parental supervision or any sort of education in practical or vocational skills.

Furthermore, there is a general conviction that Gypsy parents spend their ill-gotten cash on drink and gold jewellery, while the best their malnourished, ragged children can hope for is not to be beaten. If such a picture were even close to the truth, its victims would desert *en masse*: Gypsy children would be only too anxious to assimilate into the non-Gypsy world, or at least to escape such intolerable home situations. But even those Gypsy children judged by social workers to be at risk, and removed into care by authorities, remain fiercely loyal to their parents and families. The Gypsy family must be doing something right!

"The child occupies a central position in the social and cultural world of Gypsies regardless of group affiliation or national origin. Researchers unanimously praise the care bestowed upon the Gypsy child by all members of the family and the community. This intensive care exists in tandem with distinctive respect for the child's independence: the Gypsy child eats, sleeps, and plays when he wants, subject only to the requirement of remaining within sight of family or community members." In contrast to the patterns of industrial culture, "socialization [of the Gypsy child] is carried on by the group rather than the nuclear family... Children live in a climate of freedom within the extended family, where affective warmth and permissiveness domi-

The child occupies a central position in the social and cultural world of the Gypsies.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

nate. Early on, young children participate in communal life and wish to accede to the status of adult. The feelings of belonging to a family, the way of life that brings together all the family in a very small space, and participation in the parents' professional activities reinforce the wholeness of the group, often opposed to the hostility or the incomprehension of external society" (Charlemagne, 1983).

The Gypsy child lives in a community which supports and reinforces his sense of belonging: he is never alone. And like all members of his family, the Gypsy child lives in a perpetual 'now'. He expresses his moods, his needs, his wants directly, and receives an immediate and attentive response. The Gypsy model is one of immediacy, generosity and mutual assistance. Needs are met as they arise; so too, the Gypsy socio-economic system as a whole (as will be detailed later) is based on cultivating flexibility in order to respond to demands and opportunities as they arise.

Both on a physical and emotional level, the Gypsy child's needs are looked after not just by his immediate family, but by the community as a whole. This creates an intense emotional bonding and identification with the group, all the more so as it is surrounded by hostile outsiders. The independence of the Gypsy child does not contradict the norms and values of the group but conforms to them, placing the child at a distance from the non-Gypsy world, if not directly at odds with it. Moreover, the time the Gypsy child spends in non-Gypsy environments is educational for him; increasing his knowledge of the alien world enables him to make it work more effectively to his advantage.

Health

Jan Yoors, a non-Gypsy who ran away with the Gypsies at the age of 12 and stayed with them for 10 years, tells the story of how he strutted proudly back to camp one day showing off a brand-new, expensive jacket. His adoptive father reached out and ripped the lapel as a reminder to him that it was, after all, merely an object, and should be kept in perspective (Yoors, 1967).

Gypsies make a clear distinction between superficial appearances which they largely ignore, and the invisible, intangible essence which is all important for them. Without an understanding of this differentiation, Gypsy children in ill-fitting, ill-matched or ragged clothing are all too often judged as neglected. On the contrary, the shirt may well be a couple of sizes off, but it has certainly been washed separately from foodstuffs and eating utensils. This refusal to mix objects belonging to different categories of cultural meaning is so crucial that it forms an impenetrable barrier between the Gypsy and those who do not share the same cultural distinctions. Surprisingly, this includes not only other Gypsy groups who do not observe identical principles, but **all** non-Gypsies, who are seen as pervasively 'dirty' (regardless of how clean they might **look**).

Nonetheless, the health needs of Gypsies are far from being met. They need to live in conditions which are not endemically unhealthy, but the rat-infested garbage dumps or cramped, prefabricated dwellings with no clean water or sewage that Gypsies

Gypsies are their family and community.

are often forced to live in can literally be life-threatening. Statistics from country after country show that certain types of environment-related illnesses (especially of a gastric or respiratory nature) are particularly prevalent in Gypsy communities and that the incidence of these is typically several times higher for Gypsies than for the general population (see "Gypsy Children in Europe"). The question of Gypsy health is essentially the question of Gypsy accommodation, as the root cause of sickness and low life expectancy is so closely linked to environmental conditions.

The Gypsy is his family and community, which means that the individual's health - and most particularly the child's health - must be addressed within the community context, taking full account of both objective aspects, such as unhealthy location and lack of facilities, and subjective ones, including beliefs about sickness and health.

On the surface, health-related questions, especially those of a serious and traumatic nature like infant mortality, offer common ground for Gypsy and non-Gypsy values. But Gypsy culture is folk culture in which the realms of medicine and religion remain closely intertwined. Hence, prevention and treatment may have more to do with faith and ritual than with scientific theories and practice. Such attitudes may, for example, explain the typically low take-up rate for immunization of Gypsy children: the relevance of these practices may very often not be appreciated by Gypsy parents. The result is, however, that services often remain inaccessible to Gypsy children, and this applies not only to health care but to many fields affecting Gypsy welfare.

A further health-threatening factor for Gypsy communities is their reluctance to place themselves at the mercy of the non-Gypsy world. Medical intervention is typically sought as a last resort, and this is likely to be in a hospital emergency ward. There are a number of reasons for this: it is visible and accessible even to people who may be unfamiliar with the locality; it provides an immediate response to need; it is open 24 hours a day; it is impersonal, and thus not perceived as directly threatening; it is generally free of charge; and finally, it is large enough for the extended family group to gather in and keep vigil over the sick member. This solidarity is important for the Gypsy community as the combination of illness and displacement into the non-Gypsy world is extremely traumatic for both the patient and the extended family. It is, however, often a cause of major tension with non-Gypsy staff.

An important exception to this avoidance of non-Gypsy institutions occurs in the life-or-death situation of newborn and/or sickly babies facing the harsh winter months in all too frequently subhuman conditions. In such circumstances, it is not uncommon for Gypsy parents to place the at-risk child into foster care or hospital until the worst of the danger has passed. Unfortunately, an insufficient understanding of regulations often means that Gypsy parents are accused of child abandonment and therefore have great difficulty regaining custody.

Education

"The Gypsy family has retained substantial responsibilities across a wide range of services - recreational, health, educational, economic, religious and so on - that are normally identified as functions of the traditional family, and for which, among contemporary house-dwellers, responsibility has been transferred to [external] institutions. It is partly the non-transference of these functions to external institutions that has identified the Gypsy family as anachronistic in the eyes of local and central government officers" (Adams, *et al.*). Of these family functions, the one which excites the most emotive debate is education: the process through which the child is prepared for full participation in his community.

From a non-Gypsy perspective, the Gypsy family fails to impart many indispensable skills. Therefore, Gypsy children are frequently classed as 'backward' in school - either as 'cognitively deficient' or as mentally retarded - and school provision is tailored accordingly (see "Gypsy Children in Europe"). Strangely, illiteracy among Gypsy children is perceived as far more alarming

Only about a third of Gypsy children of primary school age are enrolled in school.

than Gypsy infant mortality rates, and schooling is therefore considered a more urgent need than accommodation. Indeed, education is often promoted as the panacea to Gypsy problems: in the popular imagination, it will eliminate illiteracy, familiarize Gypsies with mainstream culture and values, and eventually enable them to get jobs and better themselves financially.

However, despite considerable efforts made by school authorities, the picture is the same for Gypsies everywhere: only about a third of Gypsy children of primary school age are enrolled in school, with many of these attending only irregularly. Attendance ceases altogether at about age 12, when Gypsy pupils typically leave school still functionally illiterate. Why does this happen?

Part of the answer lies with Gypsy parents' attitudes and practices: they see school as synonymous, not with 'education for life' (since the family provides that), but with 'literacy'. And as Gypsy culture is a non-literate, oral one, their attitudes to literacy are complex and ambivalent: literacy is suspect, because it increases contact with alien ideas; it is also seen as 'difficult'. Coming from non-literate homes, Gypsy children do not have the cultural expectation that literacy will be painlessly acquired in primary school, nor do they have access to story-books or parental help with homework that are common features of non-Gypsy children's home life (at least in middle-class families).

But Gypsy parents are also pragmatic. Their children generally remain non-literate until they decide that it is an essential skill. In the meantime, resistance to literacy - whether conscious or not - is a form of ethnic self-assertion. Seen in this light, it is clear why the child's 'failure' in school may be viewed by his parents as a successful resistance to acculturation into an alien, suspect and hostile world.

Gypsy parents' attitudes to non-Gypsy education are further complicated by the

need for their children to learn skills which are of use to their own community. This they do by watching and copying their parents and other older members of the extended family. Moreover, children's help, including minding younger children, fetching water and earning money, is a crucial contribution to the family and community. From this perspective, it becomes evident that the time Gypsy children spend in school is time spent away from - and to the disadvantage of - their families.

Furthermore, school as an institution within non-Gypsy cultures serves a primary function of socializing children to take their place in non-Gypsy society. This process entails a great deal that is at odds with the goals and methods of the Gypsy socialization process. Strict timetables, immobility, group discipline and obedience to a single authority figure all conflict with Gypsy emphasis on immediacy, flexibility and shared authority. Moreover, and strangely for the Gypsy child, school treats him as an individual rather than as a member of his family: brothers and sisters are separated by age, and parents have no say in the classroom.

While at school, the Gypsy child is immersed in an alien world. From the Gypsy parents' perspective, this has its positive side: their children must get to know and understand the non-Gypsy world in order to coexist with it. On the other hand, it is also threatening for them: their children may begin to internalize non-Gypsy cultural models. Therefore, the school experience is seen as best kept to a minimum, and normally ceases altogether when, at puberty, the Gypsy child reaches the point of adulthood within his culture.

Yet many Gypsy parents are adamant that their children should master non-Gypsy skills, and are willing to send their children to school. The fact that their children emerge illiterate is probably due to the school's failure to take their particular needs into sufficient account. In every European country, a highly disproportionate number of Gypsy children spend their entire school career in 'special' classes specifically for them or, even more detrimentally, for the mentally handicapped. In either case, it is unlikely that the teacher has had any training in the realities of Gypsy culture. The Gypsy child's cultural difference is generally greeted with hostility by schoolmates, and not infrequently by teachers as well. As a general rule, teachers' expectations of Gypsy children are so low that little effort is made to teach them.

This assumes, of course, that the Gypsy child can get into school in the first place. In reality, bureaucracy and discrimination frequently combine to leave many willing Gypsy pupils - even fully sedentary ones - outside the school gates. Additional practical problems, such as school transport and the cost of uniforms and books, also have the effect of deterring many children.

The trend among Gypsy families is towards an increased demand for non-Gypsy skills, **with a view to incorporating them into the Gypsy life-style**. There is therefore a growing need for these skills to be made available with no cultural strings attached. This requires a recognition and redressing of the problems outlined here, and more: an actively multicultural vision both of the classroom and, naturally, of the broader social organization it reflects.

Accommodation

"Nomadism is as much a state of mind as a state of fact" (Liégeois, 1987). Indeed, the great majority of Gypsy communities have been sedentary for centuries. Yet nomadism remains a fundamental element of Gypsy culture, even for sedentarized groups. Gypsy families develop little attachment to their dwelling and little sense of involvement in local issues. Their society is in fact organized along lines of kinship rather than geographical proximity.

The prevalence of sedentarism is often cited as proof that Gypsy families themselves have recognized the advantages of the non-Gypsy lifestyle. But such an interpretation ignores the 'push' factors that have forced people off the road: even where nomadism has not been prohibited outright, nomadic groups have always been subject to harassment and are often disqualified from the most basic health, education and social services.

There are also a number of 'pull' factors, however, which make decreased nomadism compatible with the Gypsy lifestyle. One of these is motorization, the advantage of which is that a vastly expanded area can now be reached from a single base. Another is urbanization: with the move by the non-Gypsy population - the economic base for Gypsy communities - towards larger concentrations, Gypsy families have followed. Furthermore, seasonal (autumn/winter) sedentarism coincides with school terms. Gypsy families therefore can and do choose to stop travelling for prolonged periods.

Problems arise when the **option** of moving on is removed. Long-term forced sedentarism has proved to be dangerous even when it has occurred in tolerable physical conditions. As the number of stopping places dwindles, members of rival groups - and of rival clans within a single group - are thrown together. The result is an explosive rise in disputes, without the traditional safety-valve of separating the warring factions. Meanwhile, each small group, cut off from the wider family, is thrown in on itself: there is less economic and social cooperation, restricted choice of marriage partners, and fewer social sanctions to help keep members in line.

Despite the common stereotypes, many more Gypsy families live in public or private housing, flats or shanties than in caravans and trailers.

Interestingly, the very word 'housing' reveals prejudices regarding accommodation. While Gypsy communities consider a whole range of accommodation options as potentially appropriate according to their circumstances, non-Gypsy cultures use only one measuring-stick: the house. Gypsy families commonly live in tents, wooden caravans, trailers, shanties, private and public housing and flats, and, most importantly, may frequently move among these options, but governmental housing policies make no provision for such flexibility.

Halting sites are planned not for the accommodation of Gypsy families with an alternative, but equally valid, lifestyle, but as part of a policy of 'settlement', a stepping-stone into standard housing and absorption into the 'wider community'. Even on legal sites, therefore, living conditions are usually very poor. Sites are often located on unwanted, unusable land: beside dumps and cemeteries, on swampland or under high-tension electric pylons, in the middle of nowhere.

In reality, legal sites tend to be inappropriate in a number of ways. Economic activity on-site is usually banned, with the result that Gypsy families either become passively dependent on social welfare payments, or manage to retain a degree of economic autonomy by breaking the site rules or by moving out. Site layout is invariably based on the conviction that Gypsies are 'all the same', which means, for instance, that rival groups may be lumped indiscriminately together on an open site more closely resembling an abandoned car-park, or extended family group members may be separated from each other in single trailers surrounded by high walls. Although Gypsies spend most of their time out of doors, official sites usually provide very little space between caravans or common ground for work, play and socializing. Finally, sites are usually grossly overcrowded.

For all their imperfections, legal sites are still the exception. No European country has matched site numbers to the national Gypsy population, let alone provided the extra places which would make nomadism between legal sites possible. Yet accommodation, in a range of forms, is the key issue on which all aspects of Gypsy welfare hinge. How can families living near open sewers, with no access to clean water, possibly stay healthy? How can families make a living if they are refused permission to work on-site, or are unable to travel in order to take up opportunities as they arise? How can a family under constant threat of eviction send their children to school in the morning, knowing that they may have been towed away by the time they return?

The Gypsy Child and Family Employment

The Gypsy family is an economic unit in which every member (including the babe in arms, an essential accessory when begging) is expected to play an active role. Therefore, it is normal for the Gypsy child to participate in the family economy. What is not normal is for him to have to support parents who are prevented from economic activity. Indeed, as more and more obstacles are placed in the way of Gypsy parents' making a living, the family may come to depend disproportionately on what the children bring in. Moreover, if the Gypsy family's day-to-day survival depends on the children's earnings, they will have no time to learn new skills, either in-family or in school. Thus, these children too face a future of unemployment.

But what is unemployment from the Gypsy cultural perspective? Unlike non-Gypsy cultures which generally define work as "a job" (security) or better still "a profession" (specialization), Gypsies see work as anything and everything they can do to make money. In fact, Gypsies survive by identifying and supplying a broad range of non-Gypsy demands. This makes Gypsies - commercial nomads - fundamentally different from other nomadic groups who exploit nature either directly (as hunter/gatherers) or indirectly (as herders). Opportunities may arise on a seasonal or occasional basis (agricultural labour, chimney cleaning), or because the work is dirty (scrap), or because

The Gypsy family is an economic unit in which every member is expected to play an active role, including children.

the skills are not available locally (white-smithing, mending jobs, horse-dealing, music). Clearly, such a self-structured approach to work demands mobility and a broad, flexible range of marketable skills. Self-employment and work flexibility are also essential to the Gypsy life-style: the individual must be able to drop everything to meet unpredictable family obligations, such as keeping vigil by a relative's sickbed or travelling to attend a relative's wedding.

Several countries have established training schemes for Gypsy adolescents, but a misunderstanding of Gypsy work patterns means that, from the Gypsy cultural perspective, they acquire few useful skills. For example, because Gypsies have traditionally been metalworkers, young boys may receive training in wrought ironwork - a craft requiring bulky, expensive equipment which precludes working from home. What makes a type of work or skill relevant to Gypsies is the way that it fits into their complex cultural patterns of life.

Nowadays, a number of factors collude to prevent Gypsy adults from playing an active economic role. Market changes, the loss of traditional income-generating activities and prejudicial attitudes in hiring practices make it increasingly difficult for Gypsies to survive economically, and the overwhelming majority, in every country, live well below the pov-

erty line. The fact that virtually 100 per cent of Gypsies are in receipt of social welfare benefits should therefore be interpreted within Gypsy parameters.

Generally speaking, Gypsies see social welfare payments as simply one economic option in a broad and flexible range of income-generating possibilities. Accepting assistance does not imply a total and passive dependence, although this may be the condition on which it is granted. Where Gypsy parents have been prevented from supplementing social welfare payments with their own employment initiatives, the results have been disastrous. Gypsies are compulsive wheeler-dealers, constantly devising new ways of making a profit. While few are consistently successful, the possibility of exercising economic initiative is psychologically crucial for them.

International Institutions

The critical situation of disadvantage and deprivation faced by Europe's Gypsy communities is by no means new; what is new is a growing recognition of the right of Gypsies (and indeed all minorities) to an equal place in a pluralist society and a greater willingness to reassess ways in which this can be brought about. To date, commitment to these ideals has been more in evidence at international than at local level, but the moral - and perhaps legal - force of such a lead should not be underestimated.

The Council of Europe first took up the question in 1975 with its Resolution on the Situation of Nomads in Europe, followed by a further Resolution on the same subject in 1981. In 1984, the European Parliament passed a Resolution on the Children of Parents of No Fixed Abode, and another on the Situation of Gypsies in the Community. In 1986, a synthesis of reports from all Member States of the European Community, **School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children**, was published. It focussed on school-related issues within their broader context, giving particular emphasis to the issues of accommodation and recognition of Gypsy culture. Throughout the 1980s, the Council of Europe called a number of conferences on questions relating to Gypsy education, the results of which were published as reports.

The 1990s have seen the pace quicken. At European Community level, an Ad-Hoc Group on school provision for Gypsy and Traveller children brings delegates together from the Ministries of Education of all Member States. The European Parliament has introduced a new budgetary heading, "Intercultural education", with an allocation of 700,000 Ecus specifically for Gypsy children. An EC quarterly newsletter, **Interface**, aims to increase awareness of developments by publishing the texts of relevant resolutions, details of exchange programmes and grant schemes, and so on. In 1991, the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe published a major document, which specifically mentions Gypsies in connection with minority rights.

United Nations involvement began in 1992, with the UN Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1992/65, On the Protection of Roma (Gypsies).

Local, regional, national and international non-governmental organizations have also played an active role in generating greater awareness. In 1990, the International Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, one of the most influential NGOs, launched an ongoing programme to investigate the situation of Gypsies in Europe; six national studies were published in 1992.

Action for and with Gypsies

"To be born and to grow up a Gypsy should be normal human destiny, not a martyrdom" (Haisman, 1992). Both in studies and in interventions, the Gypsy child has commonly been considered in isolation, not only removed from his immediate family and community but also from the complex interethnic dynamic which affects all aspects of his life. But no child lives in isolation. He or she is always part of a family, and of a wider

While it is universally true that it is their vulnerability which makes children so special, this is particularly so with regard to ethnic minorities subjected to severe forms of discrimination.

community. While it is universally true that it is their vulnerability which makes children so special, this is particularly so with regard to ethnic minorities: the cultural, political and social dimensions of an interethnic situation transform superficially simple questions, such as health care, education, accommodation and employment, into complex ones.

Recognizing this complexity, the participants at the 1992 'Growing up as a Gypsy' Workshop proposed a two-pronged, ongoing approach to further study and action: 1) **Information Base**: through which information will be collected, analysed and disseminated; 2) **Proposals for Action**: in order to constructively apply information.

Information base

Three distinct but closely linked areas need to be developed in order to establish a solid information base, in the absence of which action is mere guesswork: data collection, analysis and dissemination.

Data Collection

All Workshop participants were acutely aware of the need to involve Gypsy communities in all three phases of developing a sound information base. Both in papers presented and in follow-up discussions, participants identified the difficulties involved in

generating the active participation of Gypsies themselves as a major obstacle to the success of interventions targeting these communities.

Frequent negative experiences with authorities have made Gypsy communities reluctant to cooperate with non-Gypsy groups. Past approaches to interethnic relations, usually comprising the unilateral involvement of the majority population group in identifying the minority's problems as well as in developing and implementing policies for their solution, have done little to promote greater trust on the part of Gypsy communities. Instead, a 'pluralist' approach is needed, involving an ongoing process of dialogue initiated by the majority population group with a request for the minority to identify its own problems as a first step towards a cooperative approach to developing responses.

Who should represent the minority population group, however, in such a process? Its political structures may be very different from those of the majority, and this can contribute to its exclusion from the decision-making process. This is certainly the case for Gypsy communities. They have kinship-based political systems, but there are also 'non-Gypsy-style' organizations and pressure groups which represent Gypsy communities in every European country. The Workshop participants therefore agreed that effective consultation should involve both types of representation. At the same time, recognition was made of the difficulties in identifying single individuals to consider representative of the whole Gypsy community. It is important, though culturally difficult, to recognize and consult the minority's own leaders; it is culturally easier to interact with groups which have adopted familiar structures, but this is risky as issues of mandate and motivation will colour their input.

In order to overcome these obstacles and limitations, the proposal to form national **Mediating Teams** emerged from Workshop discussions. Such teams - made up of Gypsy representatives and non-Gypsy specialists collaborating as equals - could fulfill a range of functions on an ongoing basis. The overall goal would be to interface the Gypsy minority and the majority population group in each country, facilitating communication, mutual understanding and action.

To this end, a profile of each 'non-Gypsy-style' organization should be compiled - and subsequently updated - on both national and regional levels, with a view to evaluating their input. The following data should be included:

- Did the original initiative to set up the organization come from Gypsies or non-Gypsies?
- If non-Gypsy, was it linked with any existing group or movement, e.g. a professional or religious body?
- What are the organization's stated goals?
- How many members does it currently have?
- What is the Gypsy/non-Gypsy ratio in the membership?
- What is the Gypsy/non-Gypsy ratio on the executive?
- Are there other national/local Gypsy organizations?
- If so, what prevents this group from amalgamating with others?

These last questions serve both to guard against organizations 'slipping through the net' and to piece together an objective view of their policies. In addition to this self-assessment, each organization should also be asked:

- What initiatives/projects have you undertaken in favour of Gypsy children and families?
- What evaluation would you give to each, specifying the criteria by which 'success' or 'failure' is judged?
- What are the major problems facing Gypsy children and families in your country/region?
- What suggestions and proposals would you make for their solution?

In this way, it should be possible to eliminate organizations with little or no grass-roots mandate. A representative cross-section of groups, together with specialists skilled in intercultural dynamics, such as anthropologists, developmental psychologists, legal

experts and educationalists, would form the Mediating Team at national level. The primary function of teams would be to undertake research on the situation of Gypsy children and families in each national context, consult existing bodies and disseminate research findings. In addition, teams could be active in the following areas:

1. **Social Action**: Acting as a sort of national 'Ombudsman', the Team could deal with questions and grievances from both Gypsy and non-Gypsy parties in relation to the welfare of Gypsy children and families. It could, moreover, take an active role in developing greater mutual understanding: training opportunities for Gypsy communities in non-Gypsy political procedures would enable them to participate directly, and input into teacher-training and social-work courses, as well as through local authorities and for the general public would enhance the non-Gypsy community's cultural familiarity with the Gypsy world.

2. **Law**: The Team would evaluate existing national legislation impacting on Gypsy communities (i.e., in relation to discrimination, nomadism, and so on), monitor its implementation and lobby for additional legislation as required. It should promote awareness of the law in terms of Gypsy children's and families' legal rights. Moreover, the Team could also provide free legal aid to Gypsy families, to help make the law work for them.

3. **Media**: The Team would monitor national/regional media in order to detect biased reporting on Gypsy children and families, taking legal action, if necessary, when existing legislation (if any) is breached. In addition, the Team could issue press statements, highlighting 'good news' stories such as inter-community cooperation, progressive local authorities, and so on. It could also provide assistance (technical, financial, etc.) to Gypsy media initiatives: for a largely non-literate people, radio and video are an obvious (and relatively low-cost) choice. Irish national radio, for instance, runs a weekly 45-minute all-Gypsy programme, combining music requests, news and interviews.

4. **Networking**: National and regional Mediating Teams would network with each other and with concerned international bodies, such as the International Romani Union, the Gypsy Research Centre, and so on.

Data Analysis

The primary goal of the Workshop was to develop a research design in order to conduct an international study, the aim of which would be to effectively inform policy-making targeting Gypsy children and families. To date, the vast majority of research done on Gypsy communities concentrates on 'folkloric' aspects of their culture. Far less attention has been devoted to practical social questions concerning their welfare. Any such studies have focussed almost exclusively on school-related topics. There was agreement among Workshop participants on the existence of large knowledge gaps concerning Gypsy culture and welfare, and on the major challenge of collecting and bringing information both to the general public and to those working with Gypsy children and families.

Workshop discussions emphasized the fact that information is an essential precondition for the acceptance of Gypsy children and adults on their own terms. Failure to recognize Gypsies' own cultural patterns and values ensures that interventions trip up on these invisible but very tenacious realities, instead of plugging into and harmonizing with them.

A first requirement in relation to Gypsy children should therefore be the development of a Gypsy-specific scale, by which their psychosocial and behavioural development can be evaluated **on their own terms**. The formulation of this scale should clearly involve close consultation with Gypsy parents in order to take into account what they regard as 'normal' child development. Conversely, research should also be done on the Gypsy community's notions of normal and abnormal development through observation of children that the community regards as having behavioural problems.

Recognizing, however, the broad heterogeneity of the Gypsy 'community', Workshop

participants proposed the elaboration of a number of developmental scales. These should then be 'field tested' on Gypsy groups, and modified as necessary until both Gypsy parents and non-Gypsy specialists on child development consider them accurate. The different Gypsy developmental scales should then be correlated with more familiar non-Gypsy-specific scales for use by non-Gypsy teachers, paediatricians, social workers, and so on.

In this way, the widespread practice of automatically equating 'Gypsy' with 'educationally subnormal' can be effectively challenged and replaced with realistic assessments enabling the identification of genuinely backward, problematic or otherwise abnormal children so that they may be given the special attention they need. Such assessments should not be restricted to infants, but should be maintained for the full length of the non-Gypsy period of compulsory schooling.

Workshop discussions also focussed on the common tendency to classify Gypsy children as 'delinquent' (see "Gypsy Children in Europe"). However, cross-cultural research showing that the norms of the two groups are genuinely at odds in some respects, for example regarding school attendance and marriageable age, highlights the need to identify what types of child behaviour the Gypsy community itself regards as delinquent. How does the Gypsy community discourage unacceptable child behaviour? And, on the contrary, which social behaviours are valued in the Gypsy child? Which methods are used to promote these? These questions prompted Workshop participants to propose that, by means of the methods already outlined, a

Legal sites can, but do not always, offer space and facilities for play.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Gypsy-normal behavioural scale(s) should also be elaborated, thus enabling the two communities to work together in dealing with forms of child behaviour which both regard as deviant.

Issues of sex-role differentiation were pointed to as another area requiring further study. Gypsy parents firmly disagree with views promoting gender-free child development. They regard their children as small men and women, and social expectations, acceptable behaviour and obligations are defined accordingly. This much is known, but what are these different models? Workshop participants concluded that greater understanding of Gypsy responses to the various quandaries of parenting is needed.

There was a general feeling among participants, however, that understanding the Gypsy child only within his own cultural terms does not provide a sufficient basis for the development of useful programmes and initiatives. They went further, emphasizing that a deeper understanding of the ways in which the Gypsy child perceives and evaluates the non-Gypsy world can make our interaction with him much more effective.

Workshop participants identified a number of other areas requiring research:

Health: What concepts of illness do Gypsies have? What are their views and beliefs on causes, prevention and cures? What are Gypsy parents' attitudes to nutrition, water, disposal of bodily wastes? Again, it is vital to recognize that Gypsy parents have fundamental convictions with regard to these crucial questions.

Accommodation: Research on Gypsy families' living conditions has by and large been done. Further research is now needed - in consultation with the users - on how to meet Gypsy families' accommodation needs, as they define them. Firstly, negatively perceived aspects of existing accommodation provision should be identified. These will range from the 'obvious' (rubbish-dump locations) to the 'not-so-obvious' (erratic rubbish collection) to the 'invisible' (layout which offends cultural concepts of cleanliness or family links).

Secondly, existing accommodation provision which has proved successful from the Gypsy families' perspective should be analysed. Research should cover all types of accommodation, from transit sites to group housing schemes. This should also include illegal encampments in order to observe how Gypsy communities themselves order their space and family groupings. How can these cultural patterns be incorporated into legal, i.e., non-Gypsy-provided accommodation?

Education: Ethnic stereotypes persist in school textbooks: one children's reader, for example, offers "The gypsy stole the goose" to illustrate the letter G. Negative cultural messages need to be identified and replaced with material of a more positive pluralist nature.

Work: What makes economically successful Gypsy parents? What types of work are practised locally? This information would provide guidelines for training and enable a pooling of ideas so that Gypsy parents in one area with innovative schemes could share them with Gypsies in other areas.

Community mobilization: It is important to identify, analyse and share information on successful community mobilization projects in each country, in close consultation with the groups themselves. Since the people concerned are likely to be ill at ease with the written word, more culturally appropriate forms of communication, such as video or audio tapes, should be favoured.

Data Dissemination

Workshop discussions emphasized the fact that a great deal of urgently required information on Gypsy children and families is already available, but remains inaccessible. Unless efforts are made to disseminate information, it is likely [illegible] unnecessarily duplicated. A numb[illegible]mation bases do already exist, but e[illegible]gest of these seems to have difficul[illegible]haring its materials. By way of exa[illegible], the [illegible] report on education, **School Pr[illegible]ion for Gypsy and Traveller Children**, [illegible]n published by the Commission of [illegible]European Communities in a

number of languages, yet many educationalists remain unaware of its existence.

There was general agreement among Workshop participants on the fact that information collected and analysed on Gypsy children and families should be made available to concerned institutions and organizations.

Proposals for Action

Legal issues

Workshop discussion pinpointed the need to assess the complex (and often controversial) legal reality of Gypsies. Their legal position may be anomalous for a variety of reasons, as "Gypsy Children in Europe" elucidates. As a first step, requests should be made to both state and local authorities as well as NGOs and Gypsy organizations for information on: the number of Gypsies in the country/region; their legal status; problems as they are perceived; initiatives already undertaken to rectify these problems. This approach will also provide information on both the national/local authorities' commitment to provision, and the extent to which it is being maintained.

Secondly, an overview of the existing legal situation is necessary, including: anti-Gypsy laws (whether specifically aimed at Gypsies or particularly applicable to them); legal recognition of Gypsy-specific rights, such as the right to nomadism, etc.; general laws and their relevance to children's and families' rights to schooling, health care, accommodation, etc. as well as legislation on discrimination/incitement to hatred.

Workshop participants pointed out that in many countries there are instances in which law enforcement and public representatives are involved in acts of incitement and even physical attack, which are then justified as citizens' retaliation to Gypsy provocation. The ethnic nature of such attacks needs to be recognized; they are generally aimed indiscriminately at entire Gypsy communities, not individuals. Measures should be taken at the highest state levels to prevent further displays of ethnic intolerance, and to condemn such practices when they do occur.

With regard to accommodation, it was noted that a majority of local authorities throughout Europe are likely to be in contravention of their own legally-binding standards and of nationally- and internationally-agreed policies on Gypsy accommodation. Standards often openly flouted include housing Gypsy families in areas zoned unfit for residential use, allocating condemned dwellings to Gypsy families, and constructing accommodation in breach of legal specifications on materials, clean water provision, space per inhabitant, and so on. Until there are at least enough legal sites to match the needs of Gypsy families, some nomadic Gypsies will continue to be considered 'criminal' by their very existence. Accommodation provision comes nowhere near this mark at present, and yet families may still be evicted from illegal sites with literally nowhere to go.

Paradoxically, the rights of Gypsies are becoming increasingly recognized at international level, without any discernible improvement at national and local levels. Yet international agreements have been signed by - and are binding on - national governments. If moral pressure proves inadequate, recourse to international law may become necessary.

Accommodation

As has been noted, suitable accommodation is the hinge upon which all aspects of Gypsy welfare turn. The following are some of the points to bear in mind with respect to Gypsy accommodation:

- Adequate standards should be met with regard to space, materials, design and domestic services (regular rubbish collection, access to fire-fighting equipment, etc.);
- Access to normal public services, including public transport, shops, telephones, and so on, should be readily available;
- Accommodation should be designed to respect Gypsy cultural reality, not to change it. Gypsy social patterns, economic activities, hygiene regulations and life-style must be taken into account in planning accommodation, preferably by means of ongoing consul-

tation between local authorities and the target Gypsy family groups.

Services

Services generally refer to the range of local and national provisions established to meet basic human rights in the fields of accommodation, education, health care, social welfare, and so on. But Gypsy families rarely make full use of these, and the need to find out the reasons for this was highlighted by the Workshop participants.

Low take-up may in fact be due to objective problems, such as residency requirements, bureaucratic obstacles, access difficulties, or poverty. There may also be subjective factors at work, such as fear, lack of information, hostility or apathy.

An evaluation needs to be made of current levels and types of service use by Gypsy families with the dual aim of enabling the services to adapt to meet their needs, and of identifying gaps requiring attention. In the health field, for example, the need to address immunization, dental care and baby feeding practices have already been identified.

Lateral thinking in service provision and delivery is urgently required, and increased input from Gypsies themselves should facilitate this. Nomadism, for instance, has always been seen as a barrier to school attendance; the possibility of distance learning and other means of adapting school provision to the nomadic child (rather than only expecting the reverse) are just beginning to be explored.

Social Mobilization

Society should accommodate a range of 'difference': religious belief, skin colour, ethnic identity, sexual orientation, disability, and

Accommodation should be designed to respect Gypsy cultural reality, not to change it.

so on. Recognizing the right of nomadic Gypsy families to decent and appropriate accommodation is essentially recognizing the right to be different. Integration is the normalization - not the eradication - of difference. But how to make this come about?

For all minorities, the 'pluralist' response demands recognition of the existence and validity of different needs and values; ascertainment of the nature of these needs and values; consultation and compromise to accommodate them.

Mobilizing for change, both on the objective level of living conditions for Gypsies and on the subjective level of attitudes and beliefs, means reaching the majority with accurate information. In particular, it is vital that authority figures (policy makers, teachers, police, social workers, nurses, etc.) and schoolchildren receive undistorted messages on the Gypsy reality. At the same time, it is essential that the simplistic (and inaccurate) 'we are all the same' approach be avoided, in favour of "infinite diversity in infinite combinations".

Promoting a 'pluralist' society also means opening the way for Gypsy children and families to see themselves as a part of it. Gypsies are potentially their own best mobilizers, but they need to be facilitated in developing practical skills through such means as training courses for community workers, teachers and health workers. It is important that no strict timetables for this process be imposed as this would favour existing organizations already attuned to 'the system', i.e. the most non-Gypsy-like groups and individuals.

Finally, a further step towards promoting pluralism in society - at once concretely and symbolically - would be to assist in the setting up of Gypsy cultural centres, at national and/or continental level. A similar aspiration, already expressed at many Gypsy conferences, is for the creation of a European Gypsy university, along the lines of the successful example provided by Native American universities in the USA.

The insights and perspectives of the Workshop participants were many and varied. Different Gypsy community situations in different countries call for careful analysis at national and local/regional levels. In general, however, participants found that they had more in common than might be expected in an international Workshop of this nature, giving rise to expectations of the considerable advantages to be gained, not least in the political sphere, from pursuing this critical topic on an international as well as a national and more local basis.

References

ADAMS, OKELY, MORGAN and SMITH (1975), *Gypsies and Government Policy in England*. London: Heinemann.

CHARLEMAGNE, JACQUELINE (1983), "La Délinquance des Jeunes Rom Yougoslaves dans la Région Parisienne" in *Sauvegarde de l'Enfance* 1.

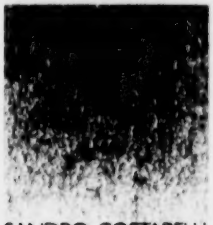
HAISMAN, TOMAS (1992), *On Child Rights* (unpublished paper).

HARDIMENT, CHRISTINA (1983), *Dream Babies: Child Care from Locke to Spock*. London: Jonathan Cape.

LIÉGEOIS, JEAN-PIERRE (1987), *School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, pp. 34-35.

YOORS, JAN (1967), *The Gypsies*. London: Allen and Unwin.

GYPSY CHILDREN IN EUROPE
AN OVERVIEW



SANDRO COSTARELLI

Introduction

Recent events, including the massive increase in Romanian and former Yugoslavian Gypsy refugees seeking shelter in western European countries and the civil war razing former Yugoslavia, have highlighted the need for action by the international community on the increasingly serious problems threatening the welfare of Gypsy children. The web of complex issues adding up to severe disadvantage, discrimination and hardship for this numerically strong, socially weak minority group calls for greater understanding and action.

Children of minority groups have recently gained a place on the world's political agenda. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child addresses the issue, giving national governments an active role in protecting children from all forms of discrimination. And yet the reality of severe hardship for the millions of Gypsy children in both western and eastern European countries today appears to be a far cry from such principles.

This chapter aims to survey some of the specific problems faced by Gypsy children today in Europe, drawing on information from recent western European literature. Such a survey is, however, bound to contain gaps and leave question marks because while "books devoted to Gypsies and Travellers number in the thousands ... those addressing social issues such as schooling, racism, housing, health care, and so on may be counted on the fingers of one hand" (Hancock, 1991). The lack of publications on the social situation of Gypsy children is even more conspicuous. Nonetheless, the validity of this type of review lies both in making available existing data and in pointing to the broad information gaps which need to be filled in with relevant research. The most significant lacunae have surfaced in the areas of nutritional status, gender differences with regard to education, cultural segregation, child employment and deviance.

From the Evil Child to the Evil Culture

Gypsies have only recently become the subject of social attention in western Europe. This has mainly come about through concern for the most visible section of their population: the children. Gypsy children have largely been seen as a 'social danger', and the fact that they have almost universally resisted behavioural 'change' at school has recently led to initiatives in western European countries to study the living conditions of these children.

This has gradually brought a shift in the social labelling of Gypsy children in western European societies. The emphasis has moved from an assumed active role for these children as a 'social danger', with repercussions of blame and sanction, to a widespread view of them as 'innocent', 'culturally

abused' children who should be rescued at all costs. This has also involved a shift in perspective from the individual dimension, focussing on specific cases of 'abused' Gypsy children or 'abusing' Gypsy families, to a more general dimension of the 'abusing' Gypsy cultural system itself.

Comparative studies of the living situations of migrant Gypsy children in their adopted countries and in their native lands, i.e., central and eastern European countries, have generally found that living conditions for Gypsy children and their families in any of these countries of origin are just as harsh as those currently endured in western Europe. This has tended to reinforce reproachful finger-pointing at the Gypsy culture itself for the difficulties and disadvantages faced by its members.

Who Writes What?

Before examining **what** has been written in western European literature on the subject of Gypsy children, it is perhaps not an idle aside to ask **where**, **why** and **how** 'the average western European reader' has been able to get information on the subject.

The social sciences took up the study of Gypsies only quite recently (1960-70). Consequently, academics to date have been almost entirely concerned with reaching agreement on some of the more basic and highly controversial issues. The 'Gypsy child' has not as yet been considered worthy of study *per se*: childhood has been viewed as a transitory phase on the way to becoming a 'Gypsy', i.e., an adult. This limitation is more apparent in the sociological and anthropological fields than in the psychological domain.

Since the beginning of the 1970s, psychological research has focussed considerable attention on Gypsy children, although almost exclusively in relation to education. The main aim of this type of research has been to demonstrate that Gypsies themselves are responsible for their (and their children's) disadvantaged social conditions. Two areas of argument lead to this conclusion.

Firstly, standardized psychological tests

Gypsy children in western and eastern Europe do not always enjoy their rights as set forth in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

consistently point to a 'cognitive deficiency' affecting Gypsy children. Clearly, however, the use of such tests on both non-Gypsy and Gypsy children without any cultural adaptation made for the latter group is bound to reveal 'mental deficiencies, owing to the inadequate cultural environment' of Gypsy children (Liégeois, 1985). One telling example of this type of research approach is provided by a study carried out in France on the official motivations given by school teachers in the southern city of Toulouse for sending 75 per cent of their Gypsy pupils for psychiatric care services between 1975 and 1987: significantly, the main reasons were "lack of school attendance" (50 per cent), "inability to learn to read" (25 per cent) and "motion hyperactivity" (25 per cent) (Fouraste, 1988).

A second line of research has consistently brought out a general 'cultural inadequacy' regarding child development within the Gypsy society as a whole (Piasere, 1986). The uncompromising rejection by Gypsies of cultural assimilation into the dominant society (or rather "inclusion" as Liégeois (1985) more concretely terms it), has resulted in the Gypsies themselves being held responsible for their poor living situations. Research findings, both in educational and psychological fields, have generally confirmed this view. As a result, in the West as in the East, this type of analysis has subtly worked to provide official justification for governments to not initiate any kind of aid strategy for Gypsies, be they adults or children.

Western European media has shown increasing interest in Gypsy children over the past 10 to 15 years. The presentation of issues has, however, been strongly pervaded by a sense of cultural bias. As with academic literature, a similar process of 'guilt attribution' applies, both in terms of choice of subject matter and analysis of the issues.

Broadly speaking, two main areas of concern have received media coverage: juvenile crime and child abuse. Media reports on juvenile crime have generally highlighted the involvement of groups of former Yugoslavian Gypsy children in small crime activities (mainly pick-pocketing and burglary) within urban western European contexts. In dealing with the issue of child abuse, the media has focussed on single cases of maltreatment within individual family circumstances of neglect and distress. Indeed, close similarities may be seen between this perspective and more general reporting on child abuse, i.e., non-Gypsy cases, over the past 10 to 15 years.

The positive role such accusatory media reports can play, however, in effectively helping children in distressful situations has been seriously questioned recently. By personalizing the blame for individual cases of child abuse, society's role in indirectly contributing to or determining such abusive situations is not called into question. Furthermore, this approach provides no room for questioning the role played by society in producing not only those individual incidents of child abuse, but also the underlying social conditions which allow such situations to develop (Sgritta, 1990).

Some Facts and Figures on the Situation of Gypsy Children

Legal Status

The legal status of Gypsy children varies greatly throughout Europe, largely depending on the very different migration and settlement flows of the various groups over time.

Four major waves of Gypsy migration have been recorded. The first Gypsy newcomers to Europe gradually settled throughout the continent between the 10th and 15th centuries, with their culture retaining only a residual level of short-distance nomadism. The second wave of Gypsy migration mainly involved Romanian ex-slaves, who scattered around Europe in 1856 at the end of 500 years of bondage. This led to Gypsy resettlements in almost every European country as well as quite large-scale migration to the American continents. The third wave, from the end of the 1960s to 1990-1, brought a steady flow of Gypsy migrants from former Yugoslavia, mainly directed towards western

The legal status of Gypsy children varies greatly throughout Europe.

European countries (Liégeois, 1985). In 1990, however, western European countries adhering to the Schengen Protocol (Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium, Germany, France and Italy) introduced entry requirements for all citizens of central and eastern European countries. The fourth and last migration wave is made up of Gypsies leaving Romania after the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship in 1989. Headed mainly for Germany and France, these Gypsies have claimed political refugee status, rather than that of migrant, thus enabling them to enter these countries despite the limitations set by the Schengen Protocol.

These waves of migration have resulted in the development of widely varying post-migration situations, creating specific and often different problems for each Gypsy community. For example, a child from a Gypsy family which recently migrated to Spain from former Yugoslavia ('third wave') faces problems which do not necessarily affect another Gypsy child whose family settled in Spain long ago ('first wave'). While the newly-arrived child is not a Spanish citizen (unless his parents are), and is therefore not entitled to social service benefits, the child from the long-settled Gypsy group has the legal status of Spanish citizen, and therefore qualifies for such assistance.

Legal status relates to national citizenship, as the above example illustrates, but it also depends upon local residence. For this reason, a differentiation needs to be made on two levels in order to understand the legal status of the many different Gypsy groups and the different kinds of problems they confront daily: **foreign** and **national** Gypsies as regards citizenship, and **settled** and **nomadic** Gypsies in relation to local residence. For the purposes of clarity, 'migration' will therefore be used to refer to inter-country movements of Gypsy family groups within European territories, and 'nomadism' will be used for in-country movements.

As access to state social services depends on citizenship and residence status, these two distinct practices of inter-country migration and in-country nomadism have quite different - and fundamental - consequences on the living situations of Gypsy children. The problem of legal status affects Gypsy children in western Europe much more than in central and eastern European countries, as almost all governments in this latter region banned, or strongly discouraged, both nomadism and migration 40 to 70 years ago, with the result that only 10-20 per cent of the entire local Gypsy population are still illegally non-settled nomads, or illegal foreign migrants (Danciu, 1982). In contrast, western European governments have shown relative tolerance, though with various levels of discouragement, towards both migration (at least until the first wave of Romanian refugees in 1989) and nomadism of Gypsy groups on their territories. This means that non-settled Gypsies still represent an estimated 30 per cent of the total western European Gypsy population (Liégeois, 1985).

Thus, generally speaking, Gypsy children in central and eastern European countries, growing up in their native land in settled communities, are officially entitled to social service support, ranging from health care to schooling. This is not the case for Gypsy children whose families have recently migrated from these countries to western European nations. Moreover, even those Gypsy children who do have citizenship but belong to nomadic communities are in a disadvantaged position as they are normally not registered as residents in any one place, and are therefore not entitled to welfare support. These discriminatory legal constrictions, which are much more common in national legislation in western European countries than would be suspected, severely affect Gypsy children's chances for healthy development.

Population Size

Information on the numerical presence of Gypsy communities in Europe is almost certainly inaccurate at present due to the various levels of bias and inconsistency found in population statistics. Consequently, these statistics can only be indicative, and most likely underestimate the presence of Gypsies in all countries. A further limitation is that updated figures only go back as far as 1985-86.

According to the available data, the Gypsy population in Europe presently numbers around 5 million people. This excludes figures for the European part of the former Soviet Union, where they would number approximately 500,000 people. (Minority Rights Group, 1990).

STATES	*NUMBERS*	*% OF STATE POP.*
Western Europe (1986)	*1, 800, 000*	
Spain	745 000	1.9
France	260 000	0.5
Greece	140 000	1.4
Italy	120 000	0.2
Portugal	105 000	1.5
United Kingdom	90 000	0.2
Former West Germany	85, 000	0.2
Netherlands	40 000	0.3
Switzerland	35 000	0.5
Belgium	20 000	0.2
Austria	19 000	0.1
Eire	18 000	0.5
Sweden	15 000	0.2
Finland	8 000	0.2
Norway	5 000	0.1
Denmark	4 500	0.1

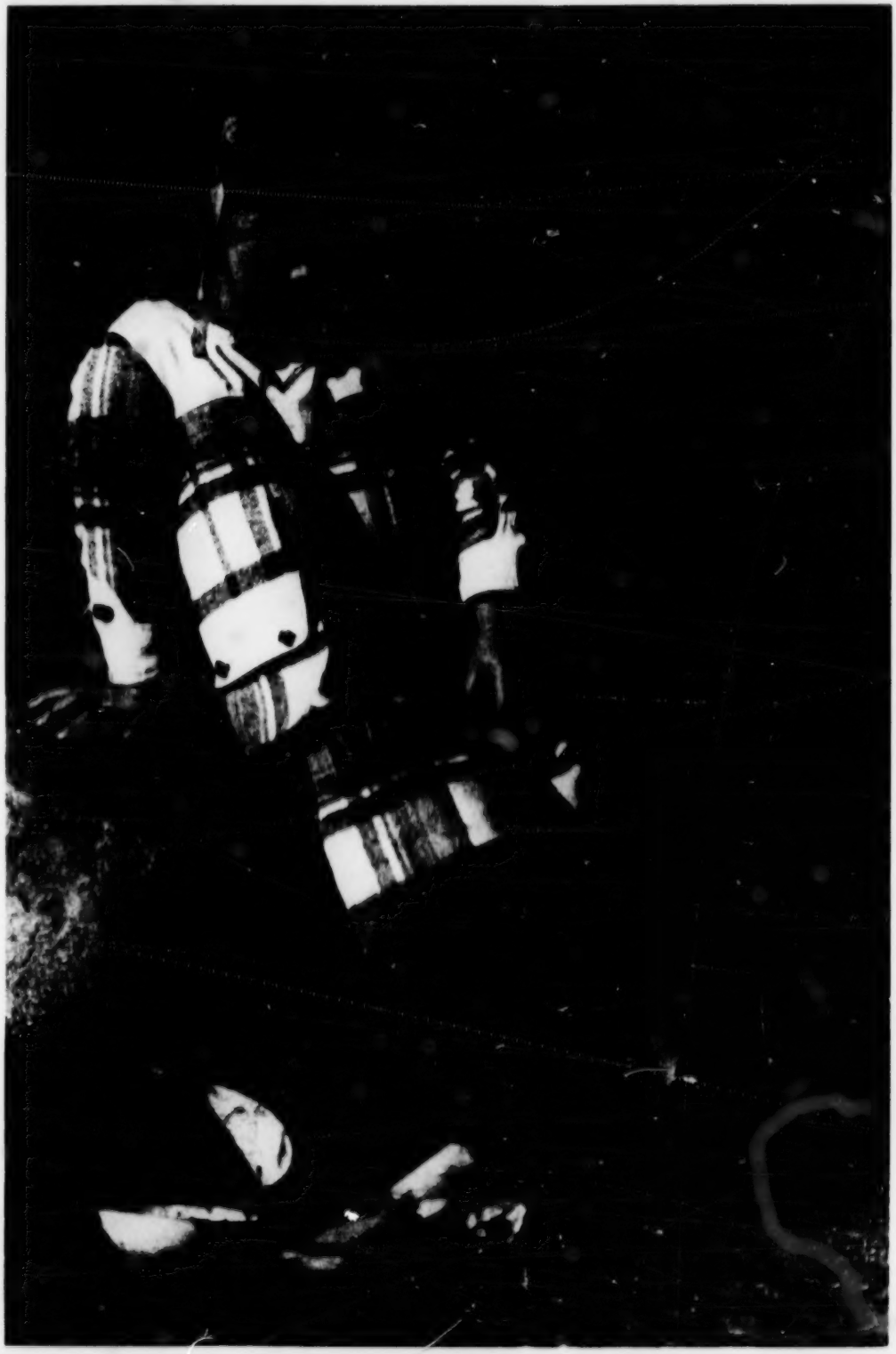
Source: Liégeois, 1989

Central-Eastern Europe (1985)	*3, 300, 000*	
Former Yugoslavia	850 000	3.7
Romania	760 000	3.3
Hungary	560 000	5.2
Bulgaria	475 000	5.3
Former Czechoslovakia	410, 000	2.7
Albania	80 000	2.8
Poland	70 000	0.2

Source: Lockwood 1985

Demographic Indicators

A glance at one of the most significative demographic indicators of welfare, life expectancy at birth, gives an alarming indication of hardship and disadvantage in the Gypsy population. Figures provoke even



Life expectancy at birth for Gypsy children is generally much lower than the national average.

greater cause for concern in view of the similarities which may be seen in different country contexts where political and economic systems, socio-cultural and geographical environments as well as historical backgrounds vary widely.

In 1983, life expectancy at birth for newborn Gypsies in Hungary was 15 years lower than the national average. In Spain, it averaged 43 years in 1985 (the respective national average was 73). In Eire, it was half the national average in 1986, and in the same year in Italy less than 3 per cent of the Gypsy population lived for more than 60 years (Minority Rights Group, 1986). Significantly, in the USA as recently as 1987, average life expectancy for the 1 million-strong American Gypsy population was 48-55 years (Thomas, 1987).

On a more general level, the demographic structure of the Gypsy population may be described by what social demography metaphorically refers to as "Fourth World" figures. In 1986, the "age-pyramid" representing the Gypsy population in Europe showed a base of 70 per cent of 0-21 year olds. The respective European average was less than 35 per cent in the same year, and even Brazil's base was no larger than 60 per cent. For the Gypsy population, the pyramid narrowed sharply to only a "very few" people over 60 years of age (Martinez, 1986).

The rapid population growth rate of Gypsy communities is the main reason for this youth-dominated demographic structure. The few data available at individual country level clearly make this point. In 1991, 50 per cent of the Gypsy population in Italy, Bulgaria and former Czechoslovakia was under 18 years of age (Opera Nomadi, 1991; Helsinki Watch Committee, 1991; Kalvoda, 1991). In 1978, the Spanish Gypsy population had the world's highest growth rate: with an increase differential of 5.2 per cent, the population would double in size in just 19 years (Instituto de Sociologia Aplicada, 1978). Between 1980 and 1990, the number of births increased in former Czechoslovakia by 2.5 per cent (the national growth rate was 0 per cent). In 1991, almost 10 per cent of babies born in this country were Gypsies (Kalvoda, 1991). Finally, in 1980, the Gypsy population growth rate in Hungary was twice the national average (Hajdu, 1980). These rates are particularly striking given the very high infant mortality rates (deaths per thousand live births during the first year) registered among Gypsy populations.

One of the most significant reasons for such high population growth rates in all European countries relates to the still very high fertility rates (number of births during fertile period per woman) of Gypsy women. Several factors determining high fertility rates may be traced: a generalized opposition to birth control among Gypsy communities; the widespread practice of very early marriage (12-14 years old); the possibility of receiving state subsidies for those Gypsies with national citizenship; and, finally, the high birth rates mean that there is a constantly increasing number of teen-age fertile cohorts within the Gypsy population. In former Czechoslovakia, for instance, the Gypsy fertility rate actually declined during the 1970s, but it was still much higher than the respective national average in the 1980s for two significant reasons. Firstly, as a result of the higher birth rate of preceding years, the number of fertile Gypsy cohorts increased during the 1970s by 43.8 per cent (the respective national average was 4.5 per cent). Consequently, while the average number of live births in 1980 for a 50 year-old Gypsy woman was 21 per cent lower than in 1970, there were still six children on average in her nuclear household (the respective national figure was just 2.27) (Srb, 1988). Secondly, the Czech state maternity leave was for six months with full pay and, furthermore, financial support was given to all children until the age of 18 (Kalvoda, 1991). Similarly, in former Yugoslavia, Gypsy fertility declined from a value of 6.8 in 1961 to a nonetheless still considerable figure of 4.8 in 1981 (Mrdjen, 1991).

Infant Mortality and Child Morbidity

Since high fertility is associated with short birth intervals, it is also directly related to infant mortality rates (IMR) (Cornia, 1984). Available country evidence indicates that

there was a general improvement in infant mortality rates between 1960 and 1989, even for central and eastern Europe. Nonetheless, in 1991, the IMR for the Gypsy population in former Czechoslovakia was 45/1,000 (with a national average of 20/1,000) (Kalvoda, 1991). Moreover, the Gypsy low-birth weight delivery rate was two to five times higher than the national average in this country (Struk, 1990, quoted in Sipos, 1991). A low-birth weight phenomenon is also reported for a large sample in Hungary for 1981-84, where it was found that 20.2 per cent of all Gypsy deliveries were low-birth weight babies (the respective national average was 9 per cent; in comparison, the figure for EEC countries during the 1980s was 7/1,000, according to 1990 tables produced by the World Bank (Kòbor, 1988, quoted in Sipos, 1991)). The Gypsy IMR in Bulgaria was 240/1,000 in 1989 (with a respective national average of 40/1,000) (Simonov, 1990).

Infant mortality rates are certainly not low for Gypsy children in western Europe either. In Great Britain, the rate was 15 times higher than the national average in 1983 (Save the Children Fund, 1983). In Eire in 1961, it was 113/1,000 (Barnes, 1975), and in 1986 it was still three times higher than the national average (Minority Rights Group, 1986). In Spain, it was 35/1,000 in 1978 (the national average was 17-18/1,000) (Instituto de Sociologia Aplicada, 1978). In Belgium, it was 20 per cent higher than the respective national average in 1986. Finally, in Italy's capital city in 1991, it was 24/1,000 (with a non-Gypsy rate of 9/1,000) (Bertolini *et al.*, 1992).

Gypsy children are still heavily affected by infectious diseases, particularly hepatitis and tuberculosis, in all European countries. This is so despite the general decrease of infectious diseases among children in central and eastern European countries (except in the former USSR) (Sipos, 1991), and a major decrease in western European countries. The morbidity rate for tuberculosis among Gypsy children, for example, was 60/1,000 in Bulgaria in 1990 (the national average was 22/1,000), and in former Czechoslovakia the rate was more than double the national average in 1970 (Kalvoda, 1991).

Accommodation

All over Europe, Gypsy children and their families, both in nomadic and settled communities, live in substandard, often environmentally-degrading accommodation situations. This is undoubtedly one of the strongest causes of the disproportionately high incidence of Gypsy child morbidity.

The large Gypsy nuclear families (6 children on average in Europe in 1986) and the small living areas they generally occupy mean that overcrowding is unavoidable in Gypsy communities (Martinez, 1986). In former Czechoslovakia, for instance, 37 per cent of the national Gypsy population was living in shanty-towns in 1991, with an average of seven to twelve children in each nuclear household (Kalvoda, 1991). Similarly overcrowded conditions exist for those living in apartments: the living space per person was indexed at 49/100 in 1987, with a consequent estimated crowdedness-index of 208/100 (Struk, 1990, quoted in Sipos, 1991). In Bulgaria, 95 per cent of the national Gypsy population was living in "extremely unhealthy conditions" in 1986 (Simonov, 1990; Silverman, 1986): nuclear families with an average of four to six children in each household (the national average was 1.5) were substantially confined to the city outskirts in areas surrounded by walls built decades earlier by the Bulgarian government to conceal the living conditions of local Gypsies (Helsinki Watch Committee, 1991). In 1970, 27 per cent of the Gypsy population in Hungary was living in slums: 50 per cent of these Gypsies had no sewerage system and 75 per cent were without electricity (Hajdu, 1980). In 1987, approximately 100,000 Hungarian Gypsies were found to be still living in the same shanty-town conditions (Puxon, 1987). Similarly, in former Yugoslavia most Gypsies were living in ghettos in 1990, with no provision for electricity, sewerage or running water (Reemtsma, 1990).

Gypsy children in western Europe live in similarly poor conditions. 'Nomadic' children usually camp on the outskirts of cities with their families, as the availability of official

camp sites comes nowhere near the Gypsy communities' needs. Even when state finances are allocated to municipalities to build sites for non-settled Gypsy families, as in France and Italy, the money usually remains unspent by local authorities. In Italy, for example, only 75 municipalities - out of over 3,000 - have utilized available state funds assigned for this purpose. In the United Kingdom, England and Wales are the only exceptions: urban municipalities are legally obliged to allocate a yearly expenditure for this purpose and to utilize it. However, the Government has proposed to do away with this legal obligation (Save the Children Fund, 1992). The living conditions endured by settled Gypsy children with national citizenship and residence are no better than for nomadic groups in western European countries. In 1986 in France, for example, more than 100,000 settled Gypsy children were living in slums, and this was largely the case for Spain as well (Minority Rights Group, 1986).

Institutionalization

Institutionalization of Gypsy children, particularly in eastern and central European countries, is a major cause for concern (the term excludes imprisonment of juvenile offenders in this context). Data from individual countries bring out two alarming points: Gypsy children appear to be disproportionately over-represented in state residential institutions, and secondly, they are for the main part institutionalized in centres for mentally-disabled children (Himes *et al.*, 1991).

Gypsy families living in situations of extreme hardship have traditionally made

A Gypsy child's right to education is not always realized.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

use of state residential care institutions as a temporary means of ensuring care and shelter for their children (Himes *et. al.*, 1991). However, this practice, especially common for children born during the winter, has led in many cases to lawful institutionalization of Gypsy newborns. Lacking knowledge of the laws on child abandonment, many Gypsy mothers have left their child in temporary care only to find, upon returning to the hospital, that he/she has been legally declared "in the state of parental abandonment", and therefore lawfully institutionalized.

Non-Gypsy societies, particularly in eastern and central European countries, have traditionally institutionalized relatively more Gypsy children than non-Gypsies. In Romania, for example, while Gypsies make up no more than 10-15 per cent of the national population, 80 per cent of institutionalized children in 1991 were Gypsies (the respective national average was 4 per cent) (Hancock, 1992; Himes *et. al.*, 1991). In former Czechoslovakia in 1990, 50 per cent of all institutionalized children were Gypsies (Struk, 1990, quoted in Himes *et. al.*, 1991): among them, 20 per cent were declared mentally handicapped (Kalvoda, 1991). In Hungary, 50 per cent of children admitted to state welfare centres in 1987 were Gypsies; 31 per cent of children admitted to institutes for the mentally handicapped were Gypsies, representing 10 per cent of all mentally-disabled children in the country (Puxon, 1987). Between 1926 and 1973 in Switzerland, 700 Gypsy children were forcibly removed from their families and institutionalized (Minority Rights Group, 1986).

As Gypsy children have commonly been labelled as 'mentally deficient owing to an inadequate cultural environment' by the dominant society, care responses have generally been of two types: firstly, placement in special schools for mentally-disabled children, as still happens in central and eastern European countries, or confinement in special classes for mentally-disabled children in normal schools, as generally occurred in western Europe until the beginning of the 1980s; and/or secondly, institutionalization in centres for mentally-disabled children, as is still the case in most central and eastern European countries.

Within the current lively debate on deinstitutionalization, these practices have been heavily criticized for the extreme difficulty of "distinguishing between children whose deviancy is the result of physical handicap or learning disability from those whose abnormality is the result of deprived early environments" (Himes *et al.*, 1991). In a large number of cases, this deprivation does not relate to the original family group, but to residential care in institutions.

Education

Education policies for Gypsy children in Europe have been largely unsuccessful to date. The panels presenting statistical data dramatically illustrate the ineffectiveness of the school system for Gypsy children, both in western Europe and in central and eastern European countries.

It is worth noting that pre-school kindergarten programmes have proved to be a successful means of encouraging school attendance among Gypsy children in former Czechoslovakia: in 1972, 4,515 children in the 0-5 age range were enrolled in pre-school education (1.14 per cent of the national child population); in 1986, the figure had increased to 22,240 children (3.33 per cent of the child population). A great majority of children who attended kindergarten went on to enrol in primary school (Bulir, 1987).

Juvenile Crime

Both in central-eastern and western European countries Gypsy children are highly over-represented in statistics on juvenile crime. In contrast, figures show a high incidence of adult Gypsy crime only in central and eastern Europe. It is likely that a role transfer has taken place in western European Gypsy communities, perhaps taking advantage of the far less severe penal sanctions for child crime in these countries. During the 1980s, anti-Gypsy attitudes gradually shifted from a generalized mistrust to open - and

EDUCATION FOR GYPSY CHILDREN

IN WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

- In 1989, 35 per cent of school-aged Gypsy children in EEC countries attended school; 50 per cent had never been (Liégeois, 1989);
- In 1985, 80 per cent of EEC Gypsy adults were rated as illiterate (Liégeois, 1985);
- In Italy in 1990, 35 per cent of the school- aged Gypsy population attended school more or less regularly (Opera Nomadi, 1991);
- In Spain in 1987, 50 per cent of Gypsy children attended school; the adult illiteracy rate was 80 per cent (Minority Rights Group, 1986);
- In France in 1991, less than 30 per cent of Gypsy children attended school; 65 per cent of adults were considered illiterate (*Le Nouvel Educateur*, 1991);
- In Germany in 1985, only 1 per cent of the school-aged Gypsy population received secondary education; 40 per cent of national Gypsy children attended special schools for the mentally disabled (the non-Gypsy average was 3 per cent) (Liégeois, 1985);
- In Greece in 1986, 15 per cent of Gypsy children attended school, and only 50 per cent of this group completed primary education (Spithaki, 1986); 80 per cent of the school-aged national Gypsy population was registered as illiterate (Liégeois, 1987);
- In the UK in 1986, 5,000 Traveller children did not attend school, and a further 20,000 attained "inadequate education levels" (Minority rights Group, 1986);
- In Eire in 1984, 50 per cent of Traveller children attended school, but 90 per cent of the under-12 population dropped out (O'Connell, 1989).

IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

- In former Yugoslavia in 1986, 80 per cent of Gypsy children did not complete primary school education (Liht, 1986);
- In former Czechoslovakia between 1970 and 1980, only 35 per cent of the Gypsy school-aged population finished primary school; between 1980 and 1985, 75.1 per cent of Gypsy children attended school (Kalvoda, 1991); in 1980, 17.1 per cent of the Gypsy school population attended special schools for the mentally disabled (the non-Gypsy average was 2.6 per cent), and the percentage increased to 27.6 per cent in 1985 (Bulir, 1987);
- In Hungary in 1991, 50 per cent of Gypsy children did not complete primary education (6-10 years) (Kemény, 1985) and 75 per cent did not finish compulsory schooling (6-14 years) (Réger, 1991); between 1970 and 1991, the percentage of Gypsy children reaching the eighth grade increased by 71 per cent (*Nepszabadsag*, 8.4.1990), but only 17 per cent of these children achieved an acceptable level of literacy (Puxon, 1987); 21 per cent of Hungarian Gypsy children speak Romanès (the original mother tongue of Gypsies) as their first language, and 8 per cent have Romanian as their mother tongue (Kemény, 1985),
- In Bulgaria in 1991, 95 per cent of Gypsy children attended school, but only 30 per cent completed primary education; 50 per cent of Gypsy adults over the age of 30 were considered illiterate (Helsinki Watch Committee, 1991); 80 per cent of Gypsy children speak Romanès as their mother tongue.

often frighteningly violent - hostility in most western European countries. Triggering such negative attitudes is the ever-increasing phenomenon of Gypsy child deviance, mainly pick-pocketing and burglary.

Gypsy children are therefore on the front line in western Europe, playing an important role as income-generator within their community and, at the same time, taking the brunt of scapegoating discriminatory attitudes from the non-Gypsy society. In Italy in 1991, for example, Gypsy children represented 77.2 per cent of the entire non-Italian population (over-14) in prison or detention (Ministry of Justice, personal communication). In former Czechoslovakia in 1980, the delinquency rate for Gypsy children was 560/10,000 for the 10-18 age group (the national average was 109/10,000) (Kovarik, 1988, quoted in Sipos, 1991). In Bulgaria,

High levels of adult unemployment can mean that a large part of responsibility for family income shifts to the Gypsy child

Gypsy juvenile crime was "alarmingly high" in 1990 (the national average was 55-60/10,000) (Valchev, 1990, quoted in Sipos, 1991).

Adult Unemployment

The main cause of deviance among Gypsy children is undoubtedly the extremely high levels of adult unemployment. There are two main reasons for such high levels of unemployment. The Gypsy culture generally rejects the concept of long-term, stable employment, and gives much more emphasis to autonomous, flexible types of work. In Spain in 1987, 74 per cent of the adult Gypsy population was unemployed; in Finland, the figure was 75 per cent in 1976; it was 50 per cent in Sweden in 1975 (Takman, 1976); in former Yugoslavia in 1986, it was 80 per cent (Liht, 1986); in Romania in 1991, 40 per cent of the national Gypsy labour force was unemployed (Tagliabue, 1991); and in Hungary, the figure was 15 per cent in 1991 (the respective non-Gypsy average was 7 per cent) (Daroczi, 1992).

A lack of professional skills is the second major cause of Gypsy unemployment. Gypsies have great difficulty in finding jobs, and are more likely to lose them in times of economic cut backs. In Hungary, only 15 per cent of Gypsy labourers were registered as skilled in 1986, and less than 5 per cent of these were employed in professions (Minority Rights Group, 1986).

Conclusion

While the available data can only draw a rather sketchy picture of the quality of life experienced by Gypsy communities in Europe, it nonetheless depicts all too clearly an alarming stagnation in their living conditions. There are historical and cultural differences among Gypsy communities in individual European countries, but there are also striking similarities: welfare indicators point unfailingly to circumstances of extreme hardship and disadvantage.

There is an urgent need, as this analysis illustrates all too clearly, for the creation of an international system of standardized data collection and production so that in-depth comparative analyses may be carried out on the living conditions of Gypsy children and their families both in western Europe and in eastern and central European countries.

References

BARNES, B. (1975), "Irish Travelling People" in F. Rehfish (ed.), *Gypsies, Tinkers and other Travellers*. New York: Academic Press.

BERTOLINI *et al.* (1992), *Rivista Italiana di Pediatria*, 17.

BULIR, M. (1987), "School Attendance of Gypsy Children during the Years 1980-1985" (title translated from Czech), *Demografie*, 29, 1.

CORNIA, G. A. (1984), "A Survey of Cross- sectional and Time-series Literature on Factors Affecting Child Welfare" in R. Jolly and G.A. Cornia, (eds.), *The Impact of World Recession on Children*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Danciu, A. (1982), "Introduction au probleme tsigane à l'Est", *Iztok*, 5- 1.

DAROCZI, A. (1992), "La situation des Tsiganes d'Hongrie", communication au seminaire "La famille tsigane en Europe de l'Est". Paris: IDEF.

FOURASTE, R. (1988), "Essaie de repérage de limite entre normal et pathologique dans une population tsigane", *Le Cahier de l'ERESI*, 1, Toulouse: ERESI-SEDRIC, Presse Universitaire du Mirail.

HAJDU, M. (1980), "Gypsies, 1980", *Hungarian Digest* (6).

HANCOCK, I. (1991), "Introduction", in D. Crowe and J. Kolsti (eds.), *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. New York: M.E. Sharp, Inc.

HANCOCK, I. (1992), "Anti-Gypsyism in the New Europe", *World Policy Journal*.

HELSINKI WATCH COMMITTEE (1991), *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Gypsies of Bulgaria*. Vienna: Helsinki Watch Committee.

HIMES, J.R., S. KESSLER and C. LANDERS (1991), *Children in Institutions in Central and Eastern Europe*. Innocenti Essay. Florence: UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

INSTITUTO DE SOCIOLOGIA APLICADA (1978), *Estudio sociologico: los Gitanos espanoles*. Asociacion Secretariado General Gitano.

KALVODA, J. (1991), "The Gypsies of Czechoslovakia" in G. Crowe and J. Kolsti (eds.), *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. New York: M.E. Sharp, Inc.

KEMÉNY, I. (1985), "Sur les Tsiganes d'Hongrie", *Problèmes Politiques et Sociaux*, 503. Kostelancik, D.J.

LE NOUVEL EDUCATEUR, (1991), no. 30.

LIÉGEOIS, J.P. (1985), *Tsiganes et Voyageurs*. Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe.

LIÉGEOIS, J.P. (1987), *School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children: A Synthesis Report*. Brussels: ECSC-EEC-EAEC.

LIÉGEOIS, J.P. (1989), *Vers une éducation interculturelle: la formation des enseignants ayants des élèves tsiganes*. Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe.

LIFIT, S. (1986), "La realtà degli Zingari: la loro emancipazione etnica, politica e culturale" in Chiozzi, P. (ed.), *Etnicità e Potere*. Padova: CLEUP.

LOCKWOOD, W.G. (1985), "Balkan Gypsies: an Introduction", *The Review of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 5.

MARTINEZ, N. (1986), *Les Tsiganes*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP (1990), *World Directory of Minorities*. Chicago: St. James Press.

MRDJEN, S. (1991), "Nationalités et structure démographique en Yougoslavie", *Revue Française des Affaires Sociales*, 2. Paris: Ministère du Travail, Emploi et Formation professionelle et Ministère des Affaires Sociales et Integration.

O'CONNELL (1989), "L'interculturel et la formation, analyse de quelques actions fondées sur les dynamismes culturel des Travellers d'Irlande" in Liégeois, J.P. (ed.), *Vers une éducation interculturelle: la formation des enseignants ayants des élèves tsiganes*. Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe.

OPERA NOMADI (1991), "Inserimento scolastico dei ragazzi nomadi e zingari", paper presented at national seminar "Zingari e società". Rome: Opera Nomadi.

PIASERE, L. (1986), "A Scuola dai Gagé: ovvero quando l'Educatore Diventa Disadattato" in P. Zatta (ed.), *Scuola di Stato e Nomadi*. Padova: Francisci.

PUXON, G. (1987), "Roma: Europe's Gypsies" in *Minority Rights Report*, 14. London: Minority Rights Group.

REEMTSMA, K. (1990), "Minderheit ohne Zukunft? Roma in Jugoslawien", *Bedrohte Voelker*, 2.

RÉGER, Z. (1991), "Socialisation des enfants et pratiques linguistique", *Cahiers de Litterature Orale*, 30. Paris: INALCO.

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND (1983), *Report*. London.

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND (1992), *On the Proposed Reform of the 1968 "Caravan Sites Act"*. Discussion paper. London.

SGRITTA, G.B. (1989), *La Condizione dell'Infanzia*. Milano: F. Angeli.

SILVERMAN, C. (1986), "Bulgarian Gypsies: Adaptation in a Socialist Context", *Nomadic Peoples*, December.

SIMONOV, S. (1990), "The Gypsies: a Re-emerging Minority", *RFL/RL: Report on Eastern Europe*, 21.

SIPOS, S. (1991), "Current and Structural Problems Affecting Children in Central and Eastern Europe" in G.A. Cornia and S. Sipos (eds.), *Children and the Transition to the Market Economy*. United Kingdom: Avebury, Gower Publishing Group.

SPITHAKI, I. (1986), *La pensée probabiliste chez l'enfant gitane de 9 à 10 ans demeurant en Grece*. Mémoire de D.E.A., Université de Caen (manuscript).

SRB, V. (1988), "Changes in the Reproduction of the Czechoslovak Romas, 1970-1980" (title translated from Czech), *Demografie*, 30, 7.

TAGLIABUE, J. (1991), "Pushed by Poverty, Romania's Gypsies Are Wandering West", *The International Herald Tribune*, 28.11.1991.

TAKMAN, J. (1976), *The Gypsies in Sweden*. Stockholm. Quoted in *Traveller Education*, no. 8, 1976.

THOMAS, J.D., *et al.* (1987), "Disease, Lifestyle and Consanguinity in Fifty-Eight American Gypsies" in *The Lancet*, 15/8.

THEY CAN SEE THE FUTURE AND IT HURTS

The international community is increasingly facing a communications challenge: how to capture the interest of the press and the media in taking up social and developmental issues and dealing with them on a sustained basis. The value of the media as a powerful partner in mobilizing public opinion is immeasurable. However, no 'image' is neutral, and the media's unique power in creating images of a social group can swing from painting an over-simplified or negative/positive picture to giving an accurate representation conveying the complexities of the issues. The complex underlying realities of life for Gypsies and their children in eastern Europe are brought to the fore in the following article by Patricia Clough which appeared in **The Independent** *of 26 October 1991.*

Six young gypsies sitting in a Prague restaurant suddenly freeze with terror. First five, then 10, then 50 skinheads walk in, lock the door and form a circle round them, breathing silent menace. Gypsies, and foreigners who look like gypsies, have been brutally beaten and even murdered by skinheads, and these six are clearly to be the next. In Mlawa, Poland, and in Romanian villages gypsies grab their children and flee as mobs sack and burn their homes. The death of Communism has brought new violence and new fears. Gypsies always had a precarious life in Eastern Europe, where they were sometimes persecuted and under pressure to settle - which many of them did.

Most of Poland's, Bohemia's and Moravia's gypsies were among the 400,000 exterminated along with the Jews in the Holocaust. In the more northerly countries what remained of their old life was finally dealt a death blow by Communism.

In Czechoslovakia this came on the nights from 2-4 February 1959, when police raided the encampments, killed the horses, burnt the wagons and told the gypsies they would have to remain in the communities where they then were, for good. There, and in Hungary, they were forced to live in unfamiliar apartments, their clans and extended families broken up. They were compelled to work in jobs totally unsuited to their temperaments. Their old crafts - tinsmithery, carving, basketwork, horse trading - were stamped out. In these countries and Poland there are no nomads any more. The Communists denied them even the status of an ethnic minority, while encouraging their music and "folklore". Yet, in much of Eastern Europe, where two-thirds of the continent's estimated six million gypsies live, many of them frankly regret the passing of the Communist regimes. "We were better off then", says Jan Licartovski, a retired road builder in Prague. "Everyone had to work and jobs were secure". His sister-in-law, Helena Sivakova, says: "We were safer, there was not so much racism". Life in Romania under Ceausescu was no joke, says Ion Onoriu, a top Romanian musician and gypsy party leader, "but this is worse than under Hitler".

With speech now free, old prejudices and hatreds that have been preserved intact for 50 years are coming back into the open. In many villages and soulless concrete housing blocks of the industrial towns in Hungary and Czechoslovakia you find them, their culture and customs faded, their strict legal code fallen into disuse, the women's colourful dresses and head scarves gone. Few even have the heart to teach their children music. Instead, there is depression, alienation and crime.

A central part of the problem is the fact that some gypsies - by no means all - steal and cheat. For them it has always been a legitimate economic activity; gadje (non-gypsies in Romany language)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

are primarily a source of income. They do not steal from other gypsies. Now this crime has taken on dramatic proportions. In Hungary gypsies reportedly commit 52 per cent of all crimes and make up 60-70 per cent of people behind bars, even though they account for only 20 per cent of the population. In Czechoslovakia the rate is said to be even higher. Part of this could well be police discrimination but it is easy to spot gypsies in S. Venceslas Square and the narrow streets of old Prague on a summer's evening darting through the crowds or lurking in predatory groups ready to snatch a handbag or pick a pocket.

This behaviour deeply distresses many decent, honest gypsies who want to integrate into "normal" society, while retaining at least some of their traditions. Other people, they complain, assume all gypsies are thieves.

If gypsies are downtrodden, the womenfolk are even more so. In Romania the women are not allowed to make bread or go out of the house when menstruating, even to work. "Anyway", she should not work, she should be making children, says one man. The gypsy legal code appears to apply more to women than men. "Married women" must always wear head scarves. Women must never walk in front of a man or cross in front of horses" says one Romanian leader. The punishment is usually a beating. But for adultery, one of the gravest crimes in the Gypsy code, the offending woman's husband may mutilate her by slashing her nose, cheeks or ears.

Despite their fiery demeanour, the women tend to be very prudish. "In the girls showers at summer camp the Gypsy girls will never take their underclothes off", says Ditka Gyuricova, a Prague sociologist. One woman told me, "I have had 16 children but my husband has never seen me naked". As soon as a girl has had her first period she is regarded as ready to wed, and many do marry in their early teens - which means an end to their education. Sexuality, which has its problems when whole families sleep together in one bed, tends to be a taboo subject. Gypsy women evidently find greater fulfillment in their children - they love babies and produce more than twice as many as the non-gypsy population.

In some Polish communities gypsy women not only raise and run the family, they are also the breadwinners, the menfolk considering it beneath them to work. Fortune-telling is still a good earner, a skill they learn from girlhood. Much, gypsies say, is based on a shrewd assessment of the customer's psychology. But even gypsies believe there are some women who really can foretell the future. "My mother is illiterate but she is highly intelligent and a good judge of psychology, says Andrzej Mirga, a gypsy ethnologist. Many things she has foretold really have come true.

Where there are no more roads, there you will find the gypsies - Hungarian saying. You drive out of the village of Helopapa towards the cemetery and turn off the road on to a cart track that bumps through the garbage dump. The track dwindles into a single path, beaten by bare feet, which leads to a collection of thatched adobe hovels. From a distance it looks like a romantic nineteenth-century etching, but there is nothing charming about life in this gypsy settlement. Geza Farkas, an unemployed labourer, and his wife, Gyongyver, live with their six children (the seventh is on the way) in a hut about 6ft by 9ft, with two single beds, a cooker, a dresser, a couple of chairs and a fridge, which is used as a cupboard. There is no electricity, gas or sanitation, water is hand-pumped from a well. Huge flies drone in the sweltering heat, in winter the ground must be awash in mud. The children often fall sick. For generations gypsies in Central Europe have lived in such settlements on the edge of villages. Once they could make a living as metalworkers, horse- traders or carvers. Now, with their old skills destroyed and jobs vanishing, most have nothing but their offspring's allowances - about pounds 20

per child per month - to live on. Local authorities, penniless, cannot help them. The churches ignore them. In the village of Csenyake, where most of the inhabitants are unemployed gypsies, Karoly Rakay, the mayor, has an allowance of 5,000 forints a year - the price of dinner for two at a top restaurant in Budapest - to supply medicines for his poor. No one has gone hungry yet, but when the money runs out the gypsies have to make do with bread and water till the end of the month, he says. Poverty and neglect take their toll: life expectancy among gypsies in Central-Eastern Europe is 10 to 15 years less than that of the non-gypsy population.

But the image of the raggle-taggle Gypsy can be deceptive: some are very rich, a few may be among the richest people in the societies of Eastern Europe. Some of these were black marketeers and illegal money changers under Communism who quickly turned into profiteers, wheeler-dealers and businessmen when things changed.

They are heartily hated and envied by gypsies and non-gypsies alike for flaunting their wealth with big, flashy cars and massive gold jewellery. This hatred was behind the devastation of gypsy homes in Mlawa, Poland, where they are - ostentatiously - the richest inhabitants.

For Gypsy riches frequently go not into bank accounts but into portable belongings and, above all, into gold. Among the semi-nomadic gypsies of Romania the measure of wealth is huge old Austro-Hungarian gold coins. One woman I met wore about 10 on a chain round her neck, together probably worth about pounds 500-600, a fortune by Romanian standards. The clan told me they had been frequently rounded up under some pretext by Ceausescu's police, who would then ransack their houses and tents in search of coins and other valuables.

The aristocrats of the gypsy scene are the musicians. In Romania, where gypsy music is extremely popular, I found one star living in an exquisite nineteenth-century villa in the centre of Bucharest. In Hungary, whose gypsy restaurant bands pour romantic melodies into diners' ears for hard currency all over the world, I was invited to a home filled with the largest, most elaborate porcelain chandeliers, and with vases, ornaments, rich carved furniture - all more bourgeois than the richest bourgeoisie.

Perhaps at the top of the tree in Hungary is Lajos Boross, acclaimed by his fellow players as king of the gypsy musicians. His blue eyes twinkling, his comfortable jowl spilling over his violin, he does indeed play like a dream. Unlike his colleagues, Mr. Boross does not wear gold chains, just a ring with the biggest, most brilliant diamond you are likely to see for a long time.

"I am a Gypsy and I teach my children the Romany language", says a middle-class mother proudly. But at a price; her daughter, like many Czechoslovak Gypsy children, ended up in a school for subnormal children because of language difficulties. For this reason many parents do not teach their children Romany, and in some areas it is dying out. In the olden days (and still today among more "backward" communities in Poland and Romania) gypsies believed that, however poor and oppressed, they were "better" than non-gypsies. But elsewhere this pride has disappeared. "I am not a Gypsy and I do not employ gypsies", declares the boss of a busy new grocery in a Prague suburb, unaware that I know otherwise. Earlier this year hundreds of thousands like him concealed their origins in Czechoslovakia's first free post-war census, from a sense of inferiority or for fear of discrimination. "There are people high up in society living in terror of having their origins revealed, says Dezso Szegedi, a Hungarian actor. Mr. Szegedi is one of an impressive number of Gypsy artists, scientists, lawyers and other intellectuals who, as one put it, have "come out" as gypsies and are leading gypsy political parties and associations. The positive side of freedom is that gypsies can now organize and fight for gypsy interests. Hungary, Romania and ➥

Czechoslovakia already have the odd gypsy MP. There are problems: in-fighting between groups and leaders, and fraudsters who abuse the movement for private gain.

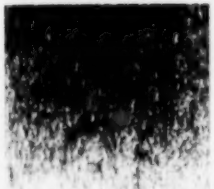
One thing the gypsies and sociologists in the northern countries agree upon is that there can be no return to the nomadic life. "The skills have vanished for good", says Mr. Mirga. He maintains Polish gypsies still "wander", in that they often change jobs and homes; others say it is nonsense that gypsies have wandering in their blood - it was just a way of earning a living.

Some are indeed starting to settle happily. In a large plot of land bought by a benefactor in Helopapa, fat melons and gherkins are ripening, proof that gypsies can work the land. In Prague a Gypsy firm is providing "Romany services" - plumbing, demolition - and in the beer-making town of Plzen, Czechoslovakia, a Gypsy firm has taken over the street cleaning. "Our city", says the mayor, "has never been so clean".

One of the more effective groups is Phralipe (Romany for "brotherhood"), in Hungary. In former Communist Party premises in Budapest's red-light district where pictures of Lenin still look down from the walls, the group, led by Bela Osztojkan, a writer, is working on its top priority, education. It has organized courses for its local leaders and holds consciousness-raising sessions, helping gypsies identify their problems and articulate them. They and other gypsy organizations are pushing for teacher-training to help gypsy children, for special schools, books and publications in the Romany language, gypsy social workers, better housing and recognition as an ethnic minority with rights like others. But governments, preoccupied with the task of political and economic reform, have hardly begun to look at the problem. The goodwill that bloomed with the revolutions and first elections is being overtaken, gypsy leaders say, by indifference and prejudice.

■

GYPSY LIFE IN FOUR EUROPEAN COUNTRIES



SANDRO COSTARELLI

Introduction

A comparative analysis of the situation of Gypsy groups in different European countries poses considerable problems. Most importantly, the lack of uniformity and varying availability of data for each country means that very few complete comparisons can be made. There are several reasons for this: different definitions of 'Gypsy' are employed in individual countries; there is often a fear on the part of Gypsies to officially declare themselves; and, finally, most central and eastern European governments have not given Gypsy communities the right to declare themselves as such in census surveys. This comparative summary of the living conditions of children in Gypsy groups in four European countries - former Czechoslovakia, former Yugoslavia, France and Italy - therefore focusses more on cross-country trends and differentiations than on individual country-level information*. Indeed, the fact that different sources of data have been used in the four countries makes comparability even more limited: the researchers for France and Italy have had to rely on national non-official sources or on official local estimates as ethnic data is not officially recorded for legal reasons; researchers in the two eastern European countries have used official data, while recognizing that it may be biased for the reasons mentioned above.

Despite these limitations, the data obtained in each of the four countries leave little room for doubt as to the acute discrimination and disadvantage they mirror within Gypsy populations. It should be noted, however, that the very difficulties limiting an accurate comparative analysis highlight the need for the development and implementation of an internationally standardized statistical system of data collection, monitoring and dissemination on the status of children in minority groups.

Cultural Perspectives

In order to gain an understanding of what it means to grow up as a Gypsy, this analysis has focussed on four areas which together form a picture of Gypsy living conditions: health, accommodation, education and stable parental unemployment. However, before studying these areas in detail, it is important to look behind the various statistics and figures to the perspectives which inform an evaluation of these children's living situations.

There is broad agreement among gypsiologists that no one single Gypsy culture exists; at most, a certain common 'life-style' can be identified (Piasere, 1991). At the same time, as was confirmed in these four country case-studies, this generically common 'life-style' does appear to be anchored on some

* The four country case-studies were carried out by Kveta Kalibova (former Czechoslovakia), Zlatko Sram (former Yugoslavia), Alice Peinado (France) and Sandro Costarelli (Italy) for the UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

fundamental social and cultural bases which cross country and community lines (Clanet, 1990; Okely, 1983). The most characteristic features of the so-called 'Gypsy' culture derive from the dynamic interaction between the Gypsy and non-Gypsy cultures (Piasere, 1991). It is therefore possible, despite a broad range of specifically local influences, to identify some generally comparative, culturally-related attitudes among Gypsy communities towards national policies affecting their welfare. In evaluating such policies, it is essential that Gypsies' attitudes be taken into full account in order to determine the cultural relevance, and therefore effectiveness, of such initiatives.

Clearly, 'quality of life' is not an objective, universal set of standards. While some indicators used to measure living conditions may be considered meaningful and valid across different cultures, others are very much bound to individual groupings. There is, of course, broad agreement among different cultures that sickness or death has a negative value, but other issues are by no means culturally neutral. With regard to accommodation, for instance, access to shower facilities is not necessarily perceived by Gypsy communities as a useful measure of living standards. Adult employment represents perhaps the most clear-cut area in which sharp differences in values exist across cultures: within a Gypsy perspective, stable unemployment is not necessarily due to marginalization, but may be considered a sign of successful resistance to the non-Gypsy cultural pressure to assimilate.

The issue of cultural differences in perspectives and values becomes even more important on a practical level.

Gypsies share a common life-style, but there is not one single Gypsy culture.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

While it is true that each of the four countries of this study have adopted policies and programmes to deal with the severe problems experienced by Gypsy children and their families, the results, as will be seen in each of the areas analysed, have generally been inadequate. It would therefore appear that the cultural perspectives informing policy strategies, rather than a political and/or financial resistance to acting in support of these children, form the stumbling-block to effective change and improvement in conditions. Consequently, these two factors - ethnocentric influence in policies and their cultural relevance - form the key to analysing the effectiveness of initiatives targeting Gypsy children and their families in the four countries of the study.

Gypsy Living Conditions

▸ SOME BACKGROUND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

Age Distribution (%)		*GYPSY*	*TOT. POP.*
UNDER-15:			
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	43	24
Former Yugoslavia	1981	42	—
France	1989	45	22
Italy (Rome)	1989	50	17
OVER-60:			
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	4	16
Former Yugoslavia	1981	4	—
France	1989	4	12
Italy (Rome)	1989	4	30
Fertility Rate			
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	6	2
Former Yugoslavia	1980	5	—
France	1980	5	2
Italy	1989	4	1
Nuclear Household Size			
Former Czechoslovakia	1987	8	4
Former Yugoslavia	1989	≥ 4	—
France	1989	5	3
Italy (Rome)	1989	7	3

Sources: Former Czechoslovakia: Czechoslovakian Population Census, quoted in Kalibova, 1992; Srb, 1988. Former Yugoslavia: Former Yugoslavian Federal Statistical Office, quoted in Sram, 1992, and Mrdjen, 1991; Mitrovic, 1990, quoted in Sram, 1992. France: Delamon, 1990; CNIN, 1980, quoted in Peinado, 1992; Council of Europe, 1989. Italy: Opera Nomadi, 1990; Cnr-IRP, 1987, quoted in Agnoli, 1989; M. Converso, personal communication.

The similarities in the socio-demographic situations of these four Gypsy populations are immediately striking, even more so considering the consistently different figures recorded for the same indicators among the non-Gypsy populations.

The low average life expectancy for Gypsies - generally around 45 years (Puxon, 1987) - is most likely related to their health and accommodation conditions. Yet, cultural factors also play a role in determining such low levels. The still exceptionally high fertility rates among Gypsy women against the generally decreasing European levels significantly affects, for instance, the quality of health and accommodation conditions of Gypsy children in the four countries studied. The tradition of marrying at very early ages (12-14 years on average in all four countries) and of not using any family-planning strategy appear to be important cultural factors in determining such high fertility rates. Moreover, a financial incentive is reported for former Czechoslovakia, former Yugoslavia and France, where local welfare policies assure state subsidies for each child.

With regard to fertility rates, however, it is interesting to note that the use of intra-uterine contraceptive devices has been increasingly registered among former Yugoslavian women both in France and in Italy, although in almost all cases this occurs without the husband's knowledge. This reflects an earlier practice among Gypsy women - which is still observed among the recent Romanian refugee Gypsy women in France - of secretly carrying out abortions.

The most significant variables in determining the quality of health conditions are the **infant mortality rate** and **low birth weight delivery**, and these show considerably higher levels for Gypsy children in each of the four countries. This would appear to be directly related to the poor quality or lack of sanitary facilities in Gypsy communities. In all four countries, in fact, the majority of Gypsies live in shanty settlements, half of which have no sanitary facilities at all. Only in former Czechoslovakia is there a slightly more favourable situation.

▸ HEALTH CONDITIONS

		GYPSY	TOTAL POPULATION
Infant Mortality Rate			
Former Czechoslovakia	1985	30/1000	14/1000
Former Yugoslavia	1985	46/1000	28/1000
France	—	—	—
Italy (Rome)	1991	24/1000	9/1000
Low Birth Weight Delivery Rate			
Former Czechoslovakia	1989	200-500% higher than the non-Gypsy rate	
Former Yugoslavia	1991	unknown % higher than the non-Gypsy rate	
France	1987	50% higher than the non-Gypsy rate	
Italy	—	—	—
Morbidity Rate			
Former Czechoslovakia	1985	20% of the country's hospitalized child population	
Former Yugoslavia	1991	unknown % higher than the non-Gypsy rate	
France	1985	10% of the region's child population (Clerm.-Ferr)	
Italy	1991	unknown % higher than the non-Gypsy rate	
Immunization Coverage			
Former Czechoslovakia	1991	close to the national average	
Former Yugoslavia	1991	close to 0%	
France	1991	low among non-sedentary children	
Italy (Milan)	1990	20%	
Nutritional Status			
Former Czechoslovakia	1991	quantitatively, not qualitatively good	
Former Yugoslavia	1991	quantitatively and qualitatively poor	
France	1991	quantitatively good, but qualitatively poor, except among the former Yugoslavian and Romanian refugee groups (quantitatively and qualitatively poor)	
Italy	1991	quantitatively good, but qualitatively poor, except for many of the former Yugoslavian non-sedentary groups (quantitatively and qualitatively poor)	

Sources: Former Czechoslovakia: United Nations, 1987; Ministry of Health Service, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, quoted in Kalibova, 1992; Struk, 1990, quoted in Sipos, 1991. Former Yugoslavia: United Nations, 1987; Former Yugoslavian Federal Statistical Office, 1989, quoted in Sram, 1992. France: Severin *et al.* and ADSEA, 1988, quoted in Peinado, 1992. Italy: Bertolini *et al.*, 1992; N.A.G.A., 1991; I. Siena and M. Converso, personal communications.

The Gypsy **morbidity rate** is not only higher than the non-Gypsy level, but is also significantly confined to certain pathological typologies commonly caused, it is thought, by poor living conditions (Geraci, 1991). These are mainly pulmonary-related (bronchitis, pneumonia), dermatological (impetigo, skin parasites, eczema), and nutrition-related (gastritis, colitis, enteritis, oral candidoses and dental caries). Such ailments would not have serious consequences in themselves, if treated in an appropriate and timely manner. Instead, the fact that they are directly related to everyday living conditions means that they reappear cyclically among Gypsy children.

In terms of the number of children affected, **undernutrition** appears to be a problem of major concern in former Yugoslavia. In the other three countries studied, the qualitatively-poor diet, based on simple sugars and fats, generally found among Gypsy children often leads to chronic health problems in adulthood.

The higher **hospitalization rates** for Gypsy children in all four countries is largely due to the impossibility of carrying out medical

treatment on children within the Gypsy communities. Nevertheless, none of the national health policies (except for former Czechoslovakia) targeting Gypsy children link health and housing issues in an overall strategy. A first step, for instance, could be to develop mobile medical units. In addition, health services and facilities available to Gypsy families are invariably grounded on the 'western' concept of illness, whose influence is felt in all related aspects of the health system and services, including prevention, therapy and hospitalization. The result is that medical treatment is generally avoided by Gypsies until very advanced stages, when it is often extremely difficult to provide effective care.

Similarly, **immunization** remains outside Gypsy concepts of health care, with the result that levels of immunization coverage are low, particularly in former Yugoslavia, France and Italy where health services are based on request. It is vital, therefore, that culturally appropriate health education courses be instituted. Former Czechoslovakia is the only country among those studied whose health policies targeting local Gypsy families provide both a health monitoring service and on-the-spot therapeutic units.

Finally, the increasingly deep-seated 'ghetto mentality' among Gypsy communities in all four countries has led to growing health problems of a social nature. Sporadic cases of drug dependence (heroin and glue/gasoline sniffing) in France and Italy among sedentary groups, as well as widespread alcohol abuse by male adults in sedentary groups in all four countries are symptoms of social marginalization rather than cultural values.

Poor accommodation and sanitary facilities, overcrowding, environmental degradation and a lack of recreation areas characterize the living conditions endured by Gypsy communities in all four countries of the study. Such conditions are light-years away from the

▶ ACCOMMODATION CONDITIONS

		GYPSY
Type of Accommodation		
Former Czechoslovakia	1990	shanties: 30%
Former Yugoslavia	1989	shanties: the great majority
France	1989	shanties/caravans: 70-80%
Italy	1988	shanties/caravans: 88%
Availability of Sanitary Facilities		
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	water: 61%; WC: 36%; shower: 1%; town gas: 21%
Former Yugoslavia	1990	generally extremely low
France	1991	generally low
Italy	1987	40-45%
Personal Living Space/Household		
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	59% live with ≥ 5 persons/dwelling (average living space: 36 sq. m.)
Former Yugoslavia	1990	generally extremely low
France	1991	generally low
Italy (Rome)	1990	4 sq. m.
Institutionalization		
Former Czechoslovakia	1990	50% of the country's institutionalized child population
Former Yugoslavia	—	—
France	1991	close to 0%
Italy	1991	rapidly increasing among non-sedentary former Yugoslavian groups

Sources: Former Czechoslovakia: Kalvoda, 1991; Population Census, quoted in Kalibova, 1992; Struk, 1990, quoted in Himes *et al.*, 1991. Former Yugoslavia: Reemtsma, 1990; Sram, 1992. France: Delamon, 1990, quoted in Peinado, 1992. Italy: A.I.Z.O., 1988; Opera Nomadi, 1990; M. Converso, personal communication.

provisions set down in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Perhaps the harshest conditions are found among former Yugoslavian nomadic Gypsy families in Italy and France, who usually live in caravans in illegal and therefore unequipped rest areas. However, conditions are not much better for sedentary groups, most commonly living in shanty towns in the worst slum areas of all of the four countries (except for the Czech part of former Czechoslovakia).

Both in France and in Italy, legal camp sites for nomadic families are scarce, particularly in relation to the number of potential users. This leads to overcrowding on available sites, which inevitably creates social tensions. Unrelated or rival groups may be forced to live side by side, provoking inter-family and inter-personal conflicts which, in turn, leads to high levels of intra-family and intra-personal stress as well. Similarly, the more or less voluntary 'relocation' of sedentary Gypsy families in former Czechoslovákia and France into overcrowded tenement houses has created high levels of stress among ethnically-unrelated families. In this regard, it is significant that a high incidence of social problems, such as alcohol abuse, drug dependence (in France and Italy), family breakdown, juvenile delinquency, and so on, is reported among Gypsy families during periods of temporary sedentariness.

Housing policies and programmes targeting Gypsy communities fail to give adequate attention to cultural differences. The concept of 'family space' within the Gypsy culture is not defined by the sharp borders of the 'nuclear' family, but is tied to an 'extended' family structure which they perceive as a socio-cultural heritage of nomadism. The fact that such considerations are consistently ignored means that state housing policies are invariably unsuccessful in terms of their cultural relevance to Gypsy communities.

Infant mortality rates in Gypsy communities are disproportionately higher than European national average rates.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Also of significance are the higher rates of institutionalization among Gypsy children in all four countries. This is partly due to measures taken by local authorities to deal with the poor quality, or lack of, child care in problematic family environments. High institutionalization is also, however, a response on the part of Gypsy families to their circumstances of hardship. They have traditionally taken up the option of placing their children in state residential care institutions as a temporary measure, particularly for children born during the winter (Himes *et al.*, 1991). Much to the distress of parents, however, their lack of understanding of national legislation concerning child abandonment can lead to lawful institutionalization of Gypsy newborns.

The consistently low school enrolment rates and high drop-out rates among Gypsy children pointedly highlight the substantial failure of governmental primary and secondary education policies for Gypsy children in the four countries. Only in the case of former Czechoslovakia has an increase in the school enrolment rate been reported for Gypsy children. This has largely been the result of a formal pre-school education programme. At the same time, an increase in the practice of educating Gypsy children in 'special' schools, i.e., institutions for the mentally handicapped, against a decrease reported for non-Gypsy children is cause for concern. 'Special' education generally occurs in institutions (in former Czechoslovakia and former Yugoslavia) or through the employment of teaching staff and methodologies for the education of mentally-disabled children (in France and Italy).

From a non-Gypsy perspective, as has been variously observed (Visca, 1978; Piasere, 1985; Zatta, 1986; Perrotta, 1991), education has traditionally been seen as the main means by which the living situation of Gypsy communities can be gradually improved. In assuming that education has similar values for these very different cultures, state policies fail to account for a widespread rejection of the non-Gypsy education system on the part of Gypsy communities. The refusal of Gypsies to be educated has been a constant throughout history, with communities in many different countries and contexts sharing this attitude. Indeed, there is general agreement among gypsiologists that the rejection of education by Gypsy children - and particularly by their parents, as research findings on the subject clearly indicate (Dikaiou, 1990) - should be considered a precise cultural choice, and not one imposed by unfavourable economic conditions. As long as Gypsies see school as a cultural threat, they will refuse to take the risk of losing their identity.

Vocational training is a further area where differing cultural values are inadequately considered in the educational policies of the four countries. Unlike the non-Gypsy culture which favours a 'prolonged' adolescence, the Gypsy culture is based on very early adulthood: marriage and the consequent responsi-

▶ EDUCATION CONDITIONS

		GYPSY	TOT. POP.
Primary School Enrolment [a]			
Former Czechoslovakia	1985	75%	99%
Former Yugoslavia	1989	50%	95%
France	1985	35% [b]	109%
Italy	1990	35% [b]	97%
School Drop-Out Rate			
DURING PRIMARY EDUCATION:			
Former Czechoslovakia	1989	75%	—
Former Yugoslavia	1985	67%	28%
France	1991	high	—
Italy (Milan)	1988	83%	20%
DURING SECONDARY EDUCATION:			
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	99%	—
Former Yugoslavia	1988	96%	—
France	1991	extremely high	—
Italy	1991	extremely high	—
Special Education Placement			
Former Czechoslovakia	1985	28% (1980-85: +11%)	3% (1980-85: +0%)
Former Yugoslavia	1989	high	—
France	1991	0%	—
Italy	1991	0%	—

(a) Gross ratios expressed as percentages.
(b) Estimated figures.
Sources: Former Czechoslovakia: Kalvoda, 1991; Population Census 1990, quoted in Kalibova, 1992; UNESCO 1992. Former Yugoslavia: Mitrovic, 1990, quoted in Sram, 1992; Liht, 1986; UNESCO, 1992. France: Liégeois, 1986, quoted in Peinado, 1992; UNESCO, 1992. Italy: Opera Nomadi, 1991; Bertol, 1989; UNESCO, 1992. M. Converso, personal communication.

bilities for family and economic support occur at the age of 12 to 14. Secondary school attendance and opportunities for vocational training among Gypsy adolescents are therefore extremely low.

As with education, national policies, where they exist (in former Czechoslovakia and, partially, France), to promote employment possibilities among Gypsy adults, are based on the assumption that employment has the same socio-cultural meaning for Gypsies and non-Gypsies. However, stable, long-term employment remains outside the Gypsy cultural experience and value system. At the same time, Gypsy employment and survival has traditionally depended on the existence of a non-Gypsy 'human environment' towards which their more or less legal income-generating activities are directed. High unemployment among Gypsy adults has led to an increasing reliance of families on state cash transfers, mainly family and unemployment benefits, in three of the four countries studied (with the exception of Italy). This has met with considerable criticism as it is seen by many as an abuse of the welfare system.

The division of labour according to gender within the Gypsy culture means that very different roles are attributed to men and women in relation to work practices. As is the case in many traditional societies, men hold most of the power and its accompanying advantages, while women are relegated to a subordinate position. Accordingly, it has always been the man's task to deal with the outside world and to take decisions for the female members of the family, especially regarding external situations which could jeopardize the family's stability. Men have traditionally taken charge of the extra expenses, such as family travel and celebrations, while

▸ PARENTAL (STABLE) EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

Labour Force Inactivity Rate		*GYPSY*		*TOTAL POPULATION*
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	28%[a]		10%[a]
Former Yugoslavia	1981	73%[b]		43%[b]
Adult Illiteracy				
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	22%	1981	10%
Former Yugoslavia	1989	35%	1981	10%
France	1989	very high		—
Italy	1980	very high		3%
Adult Professional Qualifications				
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	6%		—
Former Yugoslavia	1988	14%		29%
France	1991	extremely low		—
Italy	1991	extremely low		—
Juvenile Crime				
Former Czechoslovakia	1980	560/10,000 (age 10-18)		109/10,000
Former Yugoslavia	1991	higher than the non-Gypsy rate		
France	1991	higher than the non-Gypsy rate, but only among the former Yugoslavian groups		
Italy	1991	higher than the non-Gypsy rate, but only among the former Yugoslavian groups who represent 77% of the whole non-Italian (over-14) population in detention.		

(a) Working age population (15-64 years).
(b) Regardless of age.
Sources: Former Czechoslovakia: Population Census, quoted in Kalibova; Kovarik, 1988, quoted in Sipos, 1991; UNESCO, 1992. Former Yugoslavia: Former Yugoslavian Federal Statistical Office, quoted in Sram, 1992; UNESCO, 1992. France: CAFRP/UNISAT, quoted in Peinado, 1992. Italy: Italian Ministry of Labour, personal communication; M. Converso, personal communication; Galdieri and Moscone, 1980; Italian Ministry of Justice, personal communication.

As long as Gypsies see school as a cultural threat, they will refuse to take the risk of letting their children lose their identity.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the weight of everyday family survival has always fallen on women. Handicraft production was traditionally men's domain, but with the decreasing demand for such items (Dick Zatta, 1986) women have become more and more burdened by daily economic responsibilities.

A further related issue is that of child employment. Gypsy children have, in fact, always helped their mothers in their income-generating activities. While research indicates that this practice is considered quite normal within the Gypsy cultural context, and is therefore not experienced as an obligation or imposition either by Gypsy children or their parents, it nonetheless represents a considerable workload for these children and makes it more difficult for them to attend school on a regular basis. Former Czechoslovakia is the only country among those analysed where Gypsy child employment is not reported, most likely as it is strictly sanctioned by national legislation.

A higher incidence of illegal income-generating activities has been noted for Gypsy children than for non-Gypsies in the four countries studied. A major difference exists, however, between the types of offences reported in western Europe to those found in central and eastern Europe. Both in France and Italy, juvenile crime rates among sedentary Gypsy children do not differ greatly from those of non-Gypsy children living in similar slum areas. Higher crime rates have been registered in these two countries only for some groups of former Yugoslavian Gypsy children, with property offences (pick-pocketing and burglary) being the main type of illegal activities. A negligible number of personal offences by Gypsy children have been recorded, whereas they represent a high proportion of those committed by Gypsy children in former Czechoslovakia and former Yugoslavia. At the same time, it should be noted that property offences (pick-pocketing and black-marketing) are only reported in the big cities of former Yugoslavia, while offences committed in all other parts of the country are confined to property-related crimes for survival, particularly stealing food, clothing and firewood.

Conclusions

The differing situations among Gypsy groups in these four countries, both on the country and community level, make any generalizations either partial or specific. Despite this limitation, however, it is possible to sketch out some overall conclusions on the interconnecting dynamics which work together to produce an unbroken circle of economic and social disadvantage for Gypsies everywhere.

The underprivileged social situation of Gypsy children begins at birth, with the disadvantaged conditions they are born into. Material deprivation, particularly in the areas of health and accommodation, which was originally the result of social deprivation, has over time become the main perpetuating force of their hardship. As has been described, present possibilities for income generation on the part of Gypsy adults are minimal due to their low levels of educational attainment, their disinterest in stable long-term employment and the lack of available alternative work practices based on autonomy and flexibility. The irrelevance of the education system to Gypsy children keeps the cycle of disadvantage closed, therefore recreating the same lack of opportunities for the next generation.

Broadly speaking, this 'marginality cycle' reproduces many of the aspects of disadvantaged child life associated with 'street children'. However, while the outcomes may be the same as those for children in 'street' situations, the causes and the development of such situations of deprivation are very specific in the case of Gypsy children. Consequently, initiatives aimed at 'street children' which have proved to be successful in the past cannot be transferred wholesale to the Gypsy context. In order to produce effective results, programmes targeting Gypsy children and families must take account of their very specific cultural identity. However, the generalizing nature of state intervention usually precludes the possibility of formulating and carrying out specific initiatives for specific circumstances. While there may be broad agree-

ment on the areas requiring urgent action - health and accommodation conditions, education and parental employment opportunities - complexities accumulate, as has been seen in relation to the four countries analysed when culturally-specific questions are raised.

The path towards improved living conditions and greater opportunities for Gypsy children should not lead to their 'cultural exile' through the rejection of their group's ethno-cultural values. Yet, policies aiming at 'integration' which show little understanding of or provision for cultural difference run this very risk or, as is the case in the four countries of this study, remain irrelevant to Gypsies themselves.

The development of appropriate perspectives for change needs the active participation of both Gypsies and non-Gypsies. Such perspectives would aim at enabling Gypsy children to maintain their cultural reference system without necessarily rejecting the dominant one. At present, implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child may well represent the most effective start for all concerned governments in this long and by no means easy process of change.

References

AGNOLI, M.S., (1989) "Quali minori, in quali famiglie?" in Consiglio Nazionale dei Minori, *I Minori in Italia*. Milan: Angeli.

A.I.Z.O. (1988), *Indagine conoscitiva sugli Zingari in Italia*. Turin: A.I.Z.O.

BERTOL, A. (1989), *Proposta di formazione professionale e di avviamento al lavoro dei giovani Rom e Sinti di Milano*. Milan: Opera Nomadi.

BERTOLINI, *et al.* (1992), *Rivista Italiana di Pediatria*, 17.

CLANET, C. (1990), "Identité tsiganes et dynamiques interculturelles", *Les Cahier de CERESI*, 4. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail.

COSTARELLI, S. (1992), *The Situation of Gypsies in Italy*. Unpublished report for UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (1989), *Recent Demographic Evolutions in the Council of Europe Member States*. Bruxelles: Council of Europe.

DELAMON, A. (1990), *La situation des "Gens du Voyage" et les mesures proposées pour l'ameliorer*. Mission Report for the French First Minister.

DIKAIOU, M. (1990), "Illiteracy and Tsigani Minority Children in Northern Greece", *International Migration Review*, XXVIII (1).

GERACI, S. (1991), "Gli scenari socio-sanitari dell'immigrazione" in Colasanti, R., S. Geraci and F. Pittau (eds.), *Immigrati e salute*. Rome: Iscos/lavoro.

HIMES, J.R., S. KESSLER and C. LANDERS, (1991), *Children in Institutions in Central and Eastern Europe and a First Look at Alternative Approaches*, Innocenti Essay. Florence: UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

GALDIERI, P. and M. MOSCONE, (1980), Rom calabresi e Sinti piemontesi, *Lacio Drom*, 3-4. Rome: Centro Studi Zingari.

KALIBOVA, K. (1992), *The Situation of Gypsies in Czechoslovakia*. Unpublished report for UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

KALVODA, J. (1991), "The Gypsies of Czechoslovakia" in G. Crowe and J. Kolsti (eds.), *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*, New York: M.E. Sharp, Inc.

LIFF, S. (1986), "La realtà degli Zingari: la loro emancipazione etnica, politica e culturale" in P. Chiozzi (ed.), *Etnicità e Potere*. Padova: CLEUP.

MRDJEN, S. (1991), "Nationalités et structure démographique en Yougoslavie", *Revue Française des Affaires Sociales*, 2, Paris: Ministère du Travail, Emploi et Formation professionelle et Minist. des Affaires Sociales et Intégration.

N.A.G.A. (1991), *Progetto sperimentale socio-assistenziale rivolto alle popolazioni nomadi di età compresa tra 0 e 14 anni, relazione finale*. Milan: N.A.G.A.

OKELY, J. (1983) *The Traveller-Gypsies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

OPERA NOMADI (1990), "Sinti e Rom sul territorio", *Lacio Drom*, 3-4, Rome: Centro Studi Zingari.

OPERA NOMADI (1991), "Inserimento scolastico dei ragazzi nomadi e zingari", paper presented at national seminar "Zingari e società", Rome: Opera Nomadi.

PEINADO, A. (1992), *The Situation of Gypsies in France*. Unpublished report for UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

PERROTTA (1991), *Bambini immigrati*. Rome: Datanews.

PIASERE, L. (1985), *Connaissance Tsigane et alphabetisation, Report 26*. Istituto di Psicologia, Università di Verona.

PIASERE, L. (1991), "Relazioni transculturali e cooperazione allo sviluppo in Italia" in Inghilleri, P. and R. Terranova-Cecchini (eds.), *Avanzamenti in psicologia transculturale*. Milan: Angeli.

PUXON, G., (1987), "Roma: Europe's Gypsies", in *Minority Rights Report*, 14, London: Minority Rights Group.

REEMTSMA, K. (1990), "Minderheit ohne Zukunft? Roma in Jugoslawien", *Bedrohte Voelker*, 2.

SIPOS, S. (1991), "Current and Structural Problems Affecting Children in Central and Eastern Europe", in G.A. Cornia and S. Sipos, (eds.), *Children and the Transition to the Market Economy*. United Kingdom: Avebury, Gower Publishing Group.

SRAM, Z. (1992), *The Situation of Gypsies in former Yugoslavia*. Unpublished report for UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

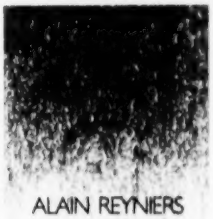
UNESCO (1992), *Statistical Yearbook*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNITED NATIONS (1987), *1987 Demographic Yearbook*. New York: United Nations.

VISCA, D. (1978), "Zingaresca: note su un etnocentrismo e un'emarginazione atipici", *Culture*, 3.

ZATTA, P. (ed.), (1986), *Scuola di Stato e Nomadi*. Padova: Francisci.

INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN GYPSY COMMUNITIES



ALAIN REYNIERS

Who are the Gypsies? Carefree wanderers living close to nature with few material possessions or responsibilities to tie them down, or unreliable delinquents living in abject poverty and squalor? These popular images, contrasting as they may be, are almost as old as the Gypsies themselves and, surprisingly, have hardly changed over the last five centuries. Described in positive or negative terms, Gypsies are still basically perceived as foreigners, unintegrated and different, and their presence is always disturbing, at best unsettling, at worst offensive. And so deeply engrained are these notions that it is not easy to set them aside for an objective description of their living situation.

Figures belie optimism, as the two preceding chapters of this publication all too clearly show. Concentrated in the poorest areas and very often living in substandard accommodation, the situation of the Gypsies is even more precarious than statistics can show. The high percentage of young people - about half of the Gypsy population is under 16 - should not conceal the extremely low life expectancy levels for Gypsies brought about by such factors as poor hygienic conditions, undernutrition and inadequate shelter from bad weather.

Gypsy communities are marginalized in both western and eastern European societies. Living on the edge, with no resources other than their own ingenuity, many Gypsies have become increasingly reliant on social welfare benefits or on criminal activity for their survival.

Social and Economic Integration

The situation remains bleak for Gypsies despite the numerous assimilation or integration programmes instituted since the end of World War II. In this context, how should we approach the issues of change within Gypsy communities and social dynamics in relation to the larger society?

Gypsy communities are marginalized on all fronts, suffering deepening disadvantage that can only widen the gap which separates them from non-Gypsy society. It is important to note that the community is the back bone of life for Gypsies. Offering refuge, emotional security and solidarity, the community represents a fundamental and irreplaceable life line for them. It is this sense of attachment which enables Gypsies to find their place both within their own ethnic social group and in the larger society.

The social outlook of each family derives from its own individual situation, though the cultural foundations on which the community rests are deeply rooted in a long and shared history. Their values are based on brotherhood, honour, respect and purity as well as on a centuries-long collective experience of rejection. It is this unique cultural heritage which underlies the relationships that Gypsies establish with others. The fact that this uniqueness is expressed in different cultural and geographical contexts means that a diversity of social situations exists.

This diversity is particularly evident on the level of income generation. Working independently or employed by others, Gypsies may be found among engineers, doctors, economists, politicians, academics, members of the armed forces, stall-keepers, scrap merchants, beggars, and so on. Their position on the social scale is therefore by no means homogeneous. Many contribute to the general wealth of their country, becoming involved in cultural activities such as handicraft production which may begin from simple scrap-metal collection and finish with the sale of a finished craft item. But basically, income-generating activities are seen as the means by which the family and community can develop. Financial resources arising from the practice of a trade are valued no more

Although many programmes have been instituted for Gypsy families, the situation remains bleak for Gypsy children.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

than those which derive from other sources, such as gambling activities, welfare benefits, and so on. The primary purpose of money within the Gypsy culture is to provide for the group's needs and to enable the community to fulfill a series of social duties which underline and confirm its unique sense of collectivity.

Gypsies' involvement in the world around them inevitably leads to their taking on some of the cultural marks of the larger society. Relations with non-Gypsy society are essential for their economic activities; families must therefore be inventive in developing activities which to some extent enable economic integration, but which nonetheless allow them to maintain control of their own destiny. The choice of economic activities depends largely on the particular Gypsy community and its own cultural heritage; income-generating enterprises traditionally practised are favoured over others which may be considered degrading. Collective incentive to improve the quality of life of the community is equally important in determining the types of work pursued. So too is the social and economic context in which the Gypsy community lives and operates: the economic structure of the dominant society, legal requirements for the practice of trades and professions as well as non-Gypsy attitudes are all factors in the choice of income-generating activities.

As relations between Gypsies and the dominant society tend to be marked by uncertainty and ambivalence, Gypsies have inevitably developed a strong sense of adaptability to changing situations. Self-employment, which gives immediate economic gain and often requires less effort, is overwhelmingly favoured. Working autonomously, Gypsies can decide when and who they work with as well as what kinds of activities they carry out. This often leads them to work in specific economic areas, especially when supply and demand are irregular, when they can provide goods and services more flexibly than others or when they are the only ones able to offer those specialized goods and services. Most of these activities call for considerable mobility and a variety of individual and collective skills. This is indeed the key to their economic survival, allowing them to adapt to changing economic circumstances.

This picture of economic life within the Gypsy culture in Europe is as much a part of their past as their present. This in itself illustrates how the continuation and evolution of their culture is based on using and reusing tried and tested economic strategies. It also means that the issue of change within the Gypsy culture must be approached with care.

Indeed, opportunities for change are many and varied, but the way that this change affects their potential earning power is not necessarily the same in all parts of Gypsy society. The stimulus for change can come from within the community itself, either by adapting to new circumstances or by developing new socio-cultural perspectives to replace others which have become obsolete. Change can also be generated from the outside, particularly by government authorities. Change from within may result in the community expressing its identity in new and different ways, but it does not lead to cultural transformation or upheaval. On the other hand, change provoked by state intervention can be strong enough to deeply alter Gypsy society, though never to the point of wiping it out. Change may affect the Gypsies' social organization and their relations, particularly on an economic level, with the dominant culture. Once again, as with all other areas of Gypsy life, diversity is the key.

Social dynamics have to do with a culture's past, its level of integration in local life, and the kinds of interests expressed both in the present and for the future. So too, our experience of change and the dynamics which bring about change vary enormously: what may be a source of significant change in one context may prove to be of very minor importance in another. Integration policies will be successful in one context and achieve little in another. For this reason, it is necessary to examine individual situations in order to gradually build up a more comprehensive view of this multi-faceted living culture.

Change - freely chosen rather than imposed - is central to Gypsy cultural traditions.

France's Settlement Policy

A housing policy for Gypsies was not fully implemented in France until the mid-1960s. At that time, the housing situation varied a great deal, with little consistency and much fragmentation in the options available for Gypsy communities. Gypsy groups who travelled, either regularly or for part of the year, usually opted for mobile housing. Some families owned or rented a piece of land, though it was often jeopardized by municipal laws and regulations. While travelling about, they sought stopping-places in the centre of town or in the no-man's land of industrial areas. Many municipalities made specific sites available for nomadic Gypsy groups, but these generally provided very little in the way of a decent and healthy environment, nor were they usually situated close to the town centre or to shops, schools, administrative or health services.

The housing situation for sedentary Gypsy populations was also very heterogeneous. Some families lived in well-kept caravans while others had very old run-down ones. Many Gypsies lived on wastelands, in or next to rubbish tips, on left-over land. In major southern towns and in the suburbs of Paris, large slum areas developed where former nomads, living sedentary life-styles, crowded together with members of other ethnic minorities. Gypsy ghettos formed in the poorest districts of many towns until local authorities destroyed them or moved the community out. In contrast, subsidized housing was available to many Gypsy families, but rarely did it cater for the needs of former nomads or the Gypsy sense of community.

The French State sees nomadism as the main obstacle to 'normal' life for Gypsies. Sedentary life is therefore pushed as the solution. Nonetheless, there is recognition by the State of the need to make some provision for committed itinerant Gypsies. The ministerial circular of 20 February 1968 proposed the development of two types of caravan sites throughout the national territory: "transit sites" and "residential sites". The first category was reserved for genuine itinerants; sites therefore had to satisfy local authorities as far as law and order was concerned, since "seeing as halting has been authorized on an officially designated site, it may be prohibited on any other municipal land".

Residential sites were expected to 'train' Gypsies in sedentary life. The period of stay "during which nomads will get used to living on one site for several months and to carrying out a trade" was not to be limited. These sites were designed for more than 60 caravans, and were divided into various sections to allow for ethnic and socio-professional groupings. They were to be located near towns, not far from schools, shops and areas offering possibilities for work. Shopping centres could be built on or near sites if there were none in the vicinity; buildings would be provided for medical, social, educational and recreational purposes; and there would be a permanent team of social-workers and teachers as well as a caretaker on larger sites.

The national government's intention was to involve local government in the financing and management of caravan sites. However, as directives were recommendatory rather than binding, local authorities, anxious for the support of their voters, very often did little to organize such accommodation for their Gypsy communities. Sites were generally located in isolated, polluted and squalid areas, were often overcrowded and nonetheless gave no long-term security.

The economic and social effects of these residential sites on Gypsy communities have been the subject of many research studies (see for example Bizeul 1987; Guy, 1991; Lacroix and Gouttefarde, 1990; Rathiers, 1987; Reyniers, 1986). It is therefore possible to understand what kind of changes these assimilation attempts have brought about in Gypsies' life-style and customs.

Prolonged periods of stay, whenever possible, were common on residential sites, extending from a few hours to several months, even to years. The fact that transit sites were generally closed down when a residential site opened could not fully account for the extent of use that Gypsy communities made of these sites. Other factors contributed to making residential sites a satisfactory option.

Permanent settlement on a site enabled Gypsies to answer new consumerist demands developing within the non-Gypsy society. New ways of conducting commercial activities appeared, including handicraft exhibitions, and advertising services in the local and specialized press. Door-to-door sales were no longer the only option; the 'pedlar' (sometimes both spouses) was able to cover much wider areas by car, visiting customers and running market-stalls, knowing that the family was safe in their caravan on the site. There was no longer the daily threat of eviction, and often the presence of an on-site education team meant that schooling was taken care of. Many families who were initially reluctant to settle on sites progressively made more use of them as stopping-points on their travels, particularly because of the security they offered, the protection they provided in winter and the commercial opportunities they presented.

Concentrations of very diverse populations on single sites over long periods of time led to some reshaping of family groupings, more on the basis of socio-economic criteria than on ethnic lines as in the past. Finally, the possibility of obtaining various services on the site on a relatively permanent basis meant that Gypsies flocked to receive social welfare benefits; as a result, social workers were monopolized by a few families and Gypsies gave full vent to their frustrations.

In such closed and artificial places as residential caravan sites, relations between Gypsies and non-Gypsy institutions are often stamped with exasperation. The accord antic-

ipated between the authorities' global design and the wishes of the nomads has not come about. There have been examples of both fruitful collaboration and of violent clashes. Most of the time, site residents respond to social workers' initiatives by avoiding them or running away. This often leads to a feeling among social workers of being toys for those they are supposed to 'educate'. Furthermore, it is by no means an exaggeration to say that sites have been appropriated by individual family groups, or at times by one particular trade or by one religious group.

On the whole, however, Gypsy communities have adapted the sites to their needs as nomadic travellers rather than accepted a sedentary life. This has slowly forced policy-makers and supporters to pay attention to lessons taught by experience, with the result that government authorities are slowly beginning to take the 'nomadic' way of life into account in their planning. Thus, the ministerial circular of 16 May 1976 specifically states that sites should preferably be limited to 15 caravans. Another circular, dated 10 July 1980, recommends a maximum site capacity of 20 caravans. It also makes a proposal that residential sites be inserted in an overall regional plan for site development drawn up on the basis of a study done on the number of transit sites required in each area. A more recent circular of 7 February 1985 stresses the importance of consultation with Gypsies and their representatives: sites should be adapted to their way of life and activities. Finally, the law of 31 May 1990 on housing for the needy makes it legally binding for townships of more than 5,000 inhabitants to provide for the transitting and residence needs of Gypsies through the allocation of specific land.

This new recognition and promotion of the 'nomadic' life-style does not necessarily respond to the needs of those considered as such. It is very likely that many Gypsies will have to develop new adaptation strategies in response to government directives. Yet, the establishment and use of serviced caravan sites has by no means weakened the Gypsy identity; on the contrary, it has prompted an evolution in values and life-style whose effects are felt within the dominant society as well. Gypsy families have adopted new ways of living as well as new activities. This, in turn, has brought about changes in their customs and social organization; marriage is one such area where choices may be different to those of the past. Longer periods of stay on residential sites has not led to the significant and decisive entry into the wage-earning system as authorities had hoped.

Gypsy families have generally adopted a selective attitude in relation to integration incentives according to their own aims and interests: social-welfare services, such as maternity and child health-care programmes, have generally been accepted whereas schooling and professional training initiatives have been received with great reluctance. The residential sites, intended as an instrument of sedentarization and thus of assimilation, have instead become anchoring points in their work circuit, providing even firmer foundations for their autonomous approach to income-generation. This has been the case both for genuine nomadic groups and for those who have begun on the route to a sedentary life-style.

Eastern Europe: The Emergence of a Political Identity

The majority of Gypsies live in central and eastern Europe in widely varying situations. The Communist period saw both the emergence of a middle-class of Gypsy intellectuals and the emergence of a proletarian labour force in the large industrial and agricultural centres of the region. In Romania, Gypsies were among the first to willingly join the large collective state farms. Some attained positions of responsibility within these structures, others made their way up the administration ladder, and still others made progress in the Communist Party hierarchy. Gypsy schools opened up in Bulgaria, and Gypsies actively participated in all areas of the economy as well as in Parliament. In Hungary, legal measures were taken in the 1950s to facilitate the integration of Gypsies, particularly in the fields of housing and

The current economic crisis throughout central and eastern Europe will make it even more difficult for Gypsies to improve their economic and social position.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

labour. In Czechoslovakia, a state programme was instituted to transfer Slovak Gypsies to areas recovered from Germany. Employment and accommodation were guaranteed, yet many chose to return to their region of origin.

The politics of the Communist regimes in relation to Gypsies were marked with ambivalence. While on the one hand Gypsy social mobility was promoted, authorities generally failed to recognize the positive aspects of traditional Gypsy culture and organization. Their flexibility in economic activities was ignored, as was the collective nature of Gypsy social life. Nomadism was discouraged in nearly all parts of the region. The Gypsy culture did not meet the Stalinist criteria for ethnic recognition: with no written language, different customs, the lack of a unified territory or political organization and no economy of its own, the Gypsy culture was considered a relic of the past, a reminder of humanity's early, primitive state. In this line of thinking, material poverty endured by Gypsies would disappear with their integration into the Socialist system.

Finally, the Communist regimes neglected the importance of the effects of discrimination against people of different ethnic groups, particularly in the labour market. Gypsies living in villages, often for decades, were stigmatized for practising traditional nomadic handicrafts and trades. Those who managed to enter the wage-earning system usually had to settle for the most under-qualified, badly-paid and least-valued positions, such as in the mines, garbage-collecting, farm labouring, and so on. Many nomadic Gypsies were forced to sedentarize in locations specifically allocated to them, most of which were unsuitable to their way of life. They were seen by their neighbours in these areas as unassimilable foreigners.

The current economic crisis throughout the region will make it even more difficult for Gypsies to improve their economic and social position. The label of 'Gypsy' is often equated with antisocial behaviour, with repercussions most concretely felt in discrimination on the labour market. Social welfare assistance for the disadvantaged is commonly viewed as an unjustified material privilege. And accusations of parasitism lie just beneath the surface.

In such conditions, it is not surprising that many Gypsies who have integrated socially into the larger society closet their own cultural identity. Various censuses illustrate this tendency. The 1956 census in Romania registered 104,216 Gypsies. In 1966, the figure dropped to 64,197, and rose again to 229,986 in 1977. The 1992 census gave a total of 409,723 Gypsies, but, according to official sources, a more accurate figure would be three times higher.

Nonetheless, Gypsies have managed to preserve a sense of their own cultural lifestyle, distinct in some fundamentally significant ways from that of the dominant society. In northern Hungary, for example, the process of integration into the wage-earning economy threatened the sense of community cohesion among the Gypsies. They responded by setting up a horse-trading business on the side, outside the control of the authorities.

Income from this activity is used to cover various celebration expenses, thereby contributing to the development of the community. This has also meant that wages from their salaried work can be used for each individual family's well-being. This objective change in their social and economic structure, resulting from the abandonment of nomadism for salaried jobs, has not therefore led to the assimilation of Gypsies into the Hungarian proletarian class. The standard of living has risen for the individual families, but this has not greatly affected the community as a whole as its collective spirit is maintained through its own economic practices.

The Gypsy community of Miskolo, Hungary's second-largest city, offers an example of group cohesion of quite a different nature. This community rejected a rehousing project imposed by local authorities, and proceeded to set up an "Anti-Ghetto Movement" with a group of non-Gypsy Hungarian intellectuals. Motivated by strategy and belief, the movement was open to dealing with various problems concerning the disadvantaged, not only

those particularly affecting the Gypsies. In an openly racist environment, the Anti-Ghetto Movement's initiative contributed to developing local democracy; strategies to achieve results ranged from political confrontation to more traditional collective decision-making.

While certainly innovative, this kind of open resistance to enforced marginalization by public authorities is not unusual. In western European countries, many Gypsy groups have fought to uphold their unique culture and life-style by demanding halting sites, the end of harassment by local administrations and police, and the simplification of formalities for practising trades.

In eastern European countries, an overt Gypsy political position developed earlier and has gained more ground than in western Europe. Sometimes acting against the State, at other times with its consent or at its initiative, the middle-class of Gypsy intellectuals has sought to develop its own set of cultural instruments. Newspapers, for instance, have been created. A cultural association of Hungarian Gypsies was set up in 1958; this was later followed by the establishment of a Gypsy Council and a Cultural Gypsy Federation in 1986. In 1963, a Gypsy educational and cultural association was set up in Tarnow, in the south-west of Poland, upon the initiative of local authorities. The Cultural Union of Rom Gypsies of Slovakia was founded in 1968, followed the year after by the creation of the Union of Rom Gypsies of the Czech Republic. Both of these associations were dissolved by the Communist Party in 1973, on the pretext that Gypsies do not have the status of a national minority. In Yugoslavia, the 1971 census first sparked a sense of national awareness among Gypsies. As early as 1976, Rom-Gypsies sought to achieve official recognition as a national minority within the Federation. In 1985, minority status was granted to Gypsies by the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovin; Macedonia granted it seven years later. With the fall of the Communist regimes, other Gypsy communities, such as in Slovakia and Romania, have also attained minority status.

Conclusion

Gypsies do not live in isolation from the societies that surround them. Even though they may manage to some extent to avoid the influence of the larger society, they cannot ignore the fact that it is the non-Gypsies who institute global political schemes, determine how natural resources should be exploited and, therefore, how the entire labour process should be organized. Within this context, it is important that a collective response be developed, so that change is not experienced by Gypsies as a threat to their culture but as an affirmation of their identity and uniqueness in the global society. The strength of the Gypsies lies in their ability to adapt to cultural change, even though this may be with some reluctance.

Does change have a meaning for Gypsies? It would seem, especially in light of these considerations, that change - or rather the ability to adapt to new and often restrictive living conditions - without losing community cohesion, lies at the heart of the Gypsy culture. Change should not be perceived as a process of collective dissolution into the global society, even though there have been situations of this nature. Finally, the role of public authorities in facilitating change in support of Gypsy communities needs to be stressed, as they represent one of the most powerful means either for social development or stagnation.

References

Bizeul, D. (1987), "Stationnement: Sort Commun/ Différenciation", *Etudes Tsiganes*, 4 (87).

Lacroix, F. and F. Gouttefarde (1990), "Massy: Habiter en Caravane", *Etudes Tsiganes*, 4 (90).

Guy, D. (1991), *Habitat et Stationnement des Gens du Voyage*. Paris: URAVIF.

Rathiers, F. (1987), "Stationnement et Habitat", *Etudes Tsiganes*, 4 (87).

Reyniers, A. (1986), *Le Stationnement des Populations Nomades en France*. Paris: Université de Paris V / Centre de Recherche Tsigane.

Notes on Contributors

- *Sandro Costarelli* is a social researcher. Former Head of the Applied Research Team on Gypsy Children at the *Istituto degli Innocenti* in Florence, Italy, he is the author of *Il Bambino Migrante*. His current research concerns social representations of sex-role among ex-Yugoslavian Gypsy children in Florence and interethnic group dynamics in school contexts.

- *Sinéad ní Shuinéar* is an anthropologist, and former researcher in EC Combat Poverty projects. During the past 20 years, she has been a guest lecturer on training courses, university anthropology seminars and at academic conferences. She has written extensively on issues concerning community development, women's roles and ethnic identity among Irish Travellers.

- *Enzo Pace* is a sociologist, and is Professor of Human Rights and of the Sociology of Religion at the University of Padua, Italy. Author of several publications, his most recent work is *Sociologia delle Religioni*, published by La Nuova Italia Scientifica.

- *Alain Reyniers* is an anthropologist, and is Professor of Anthropology of Tourism and of Research Methods in Communication Studies at the University of Louvain, Belgium. He is also the Editor of the international review *Études Tsiganes*. He has published several studies on the economic practices, accommodation and education of European Gypsies.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE OCTOBER 1992 WORKSHOP "GROWING UP AS A GYPSY"

Anne-Marie Amalfitano	Association pour la Promotion des Populations d'Origine Nomade d'Alsace, Strasbourg, France
Anne Bagehot	Save the Children, London, UK
Walter Barker	Child Psychologist, University of Bristol, UK
Paolo Basurto	Deputy Director, UNICEF ICDC
Cristina Blanc	Anthropologist, Urban Child Programme Coordinator, UNICEF ICDC
Vasile Burtea	Sociologist, Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, Romania
Anna Rita Calabrò	Sociologist, Milan, Italy
Paolo Chiozzi	Anthropologist, Immigrant Child Project Research Coordinator, Istituto degli Innocenti, Florence, Italy
Sandro Costarelli	Coordinator, ICDC Consultant, Italy
Pierre Delhez	European Community Development Exchange, Brussels, Belgium
Suzana Djordjevic	Anthropologist, Institute for Social Policy, Yugoslavia-Serbia
Bernard Formoso	Anthropologist, University of Nanterre, France
Patrizia Faustini	Librarian, UNICEF ICDC
Jitka Gjuricova	Anthropologist, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Czechoslovakia
Tomas Haisman	Anthropologist, Ministry of Human Rights and Humanitarian Issues, Czechoslovakia
James R. Himes	Director, UNICEF ICDC
Rudolf Hoffman	Deputy Director, UNICEF Geneva

Kveta Kalibova	Researcher, ICDC Consultant, Czechoslovakia
Susi Kessler	Central and Eastern Europe Unit, UNICEF NYHQ
Liselotte Leicht	International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Vienna, Austria
Jean-Pierre Liégeois	Director, Task Force Human Resources, Education, Training, and Youth, Commission of the European Community, Belgium
Patricia Light	Information Officer, UNICEF ICDC
Rosemary McCreery	Representative, UNICEF Bucharest
Marija Parun-Kolin	Sociologist, Institute for Social Policy, Yugoslavia-Serbia
Alice Peinado	Researcher, ICDC Consultant, France
Alain Reyniers	Anthropologist, University of Louvain, Belgium
Sinéad ní Shuinéar	Anthropologist, Dublin, Ireland
Italo Siena	Doctor, N.A.G.A., Milan, Italy
Zlatko Sram	Researcher, ICDC Consultant, Yugoslavia-Serbia
Rita Swinnen	Programme Director, Bernard Van Leer Foundation, The Netherlands
Carmen Treppte	Child Psychologist, Turkish Child-Mother Programme, Gelsenkirchen, Germany
Ignasi Vila	Proyecto "Context Infancia", Barcelona, Spain
Catalin Zamfir	Institute for the Quality of Life, Romania
Elena Zamfir	School of Social Work, University of Bucharest, Romania

Photos credits

Luca del Pia *(Italy)*	cover - pp. 54, 58
UNICEF / Nigel Fisher *(Iraq)*	p. 10
Penny Tweedie *Save the Children Fund (United Kingdom)*	pp. 18, 19, 68
Enrique Julio Jimeno Pérez *Asociación Nacional Presencia Gitana (Spain)*	pp. 21, 43
Petr Janžura *(Czech Republic)*	pp. 23, 27, 71
Riccardo Dei *(Italy)*	pp. 25, 46
Jenny Matthews *Save the Children Fund (United Kingdom)*	p. 30
Pavel Hroch *(Czech Republic)*	pp. 33, 61
Pavol Neubauer *(Slovak Republic)*	p. 36
José Muñoz *Asociación Nacional Presencia Gitana (Spain)*	p. 38
Anna Turbau *Asociación Nacional Presencia Gitana (Spain)*	p. 40
Ricart Cugat *Asociación Nacional Presencia Gitana (Spain)*	p. 66

printed by Centrooffset - Siena, Italy

UNICEF
International Child Development Centre